

**Revitalizing Effective Memory Cues in a Chinese City:
Urban Conservation Principles for Huizhou (Guangdong)**

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Abstract of thesis entitled:

Revitalizing Effective Memory Cues in a Chinese City: Urban Conservation Principles for Huizhou (Guangdong)

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This thesis aims to devise the urban conservation principles for Guangdong, a province in China. It attempts to answer the question “why, what and how to conserve in China?” It develops the hypothesis that the revitalization of effective memory cues is the key to the urban conservation of Chinese cities, for it sustains the collective memory of its people. It argues that the sustaining of collective memory is the essence regarding the transmission of Chinese culture, and should therefore be the ultimate task for urban conservation. This can be achieved through the revitalization of the effective memory cues in the Chinese cities, which are the fragments or representational forms effective in retrieving the people’s collective memories.

Based on the psychological principles, historic researches and field studies, we identified four effective memory cues in the Guangdong cities. They fall into two main categories: the tangible memory cues and the intangible memory cues. The tangible memory cues are pre-existed elements that devised those intangible ones, while the intangible memory cues extract and highlight the characters of the tangible ones. To explore how they exist and exert in one particular Guangdong city, Huizhou is selected for illustration. Through proposing the urban conservation principles to Huizhou, it demonstrates how the inter-relationship of the effective memory cues can be revitalized so as to sustain the collective memory of its people.

本論文旨在為中國廣東提供一個合宜的城市保護綱領。在中國傳統文化的承繼中，集體記憶的延續乃不可或缺的一環，而其關鍵在於能否保護城市中的記憶提示。根據心理學方面的研究，歷史引證及實地考察，我們發現兩大類的記憶提示，分別為有形的和無形的。通過重塑這些記憶提示，人們的集體記憶將得以延續。本論文嘗試以廣東惠州作為實驗對象，冀能引證記憶提示對城市的影響，及如何利用其成為城市保護的關鍵。

Acknowledgement

In the summer 1998, I stood on the rooftop of a small inn at Lhasa. Looking around me, I asked my Lord why there are so many lost-souls in China. He revealed to me His love to this country,

“But the Lord said, “You have been concerned about this vine, though you did not tend it or make it grow. It sprang up overnight and died overnight. But Nineveh has more than a hundred and twenty thousand people who cannot tell their right hand from their left, and many cattle as well. Should I not be concerned about that great city?”

Jonah 4: 10-11

This starts my journey to research on China – my motherland; and I believe, is my lord’s blessed land.

During my long but happy days studying in The Chinese University of Hong Kong, many people are immensely important to my education. I am indebted to Dr. Jeffrey William Cody, who brought me to the world of knowledge and cultivated my love to heritage. I am thankful to his parental guidance, advice and encouragement all the way I was composing my thesis. It is a valuable experience to learn from my dear teacher Jeff, who has the wisdom and broad knowledge that I always admire.

I have to thank Prof. Chang Ping Hung Wallace whole-heartedly. He is not only a teacher, a supervisor and a close friend to me, but also the one I consider as a mentor in life. His high-expectations and challenges given are always the momentum for me to improve and to search for excellence. I will never forget the short afternoon we spent in the Sanjusangen-do, mediating the teachings behind “archery”. I will never forget all the quarrels and sincere criticisms that lead me to maturity. And I will never forget too, all the joyful moments we shared at work, in trips and during tea-times.

I am grateful to Dr. Ho Puay Peng, who ignited my interest in Chinese culture and widened my exposure to different parts of China - Tibet, Yunnan, Fujian, Shanxi, Jiangxi and Guangdong... all these beautiful places I went with Puay Peng have granted me with memorable experiences. I am also thankful to those who give me many insights and encouragement during my study, including Prof. Tunney Lee, Prof. Lui Chun Wan Alex, Mr. Kan Wai Tak Jeff, Mr. Yuet Tsang Chi, Mr. Allen Wong and Ms. Connie Yuen. This thesis cannot be completed without the helps from Elizebeth Lee, Tong Cho Hau, Edman Choy, Bonnie Tsang, Johnson Yau, Edward Chung, Matthew Lau, Samuel Poon, Clifford Lee, Law Wai Sing, Rex Choi, Victor Fung, Eddie Lee, Jason Cheung and Belinda Law. They helped me greatly in proofreading,

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Last but not least, I have to thank my family. Despite that they may not fully understand my work, they have the patience and support to allow the pursuant of my dream. I love them from the bottom of my heart.

In the summer 2001, when I am overwhelmed by the pressure of the thesis, I nearly forget my motive to study. In those difficult days, my Lord promises that His Grace is sufficient for me. He tells me that,

“No one from the east or the west or from the desert can exalt a man.

But it is God who judges: He brings one down, he exalts another.”

Psalms 75: 6-7

I dedicate this thesis to my Lord Almighty - who loves and forgives me; who comes to make my life to the full.

CONTENT

Introduction		1
Chapter One:	Effective memory cues are the keys to sustain collective memory in China	13
1.1	Cultural dimension: the Chinese sustainable chain of memories	13
1.2	Social dimension: collective memory in the city	15
1.3	Psychological dimension: effective memory cues to sustain collective memory	22
Chapter Two:	Effective tangible cues in Guangdong cities	30
2.1	Regional level study: a region developed with the landscape	30
2.2	City level study: the landscape as reference for planning	43
2.3	Architectural level study: the place that persists through time	68
Chapter Three:	From tangible memory cues to intangible memory cues	104
3.1	Scene: the visualization of the city	105
3.2	Text: the highlight of the city's characters	123
Chapter Four:	The inter-relationships of the memory cues in Huizhou	133
4.1	Huizhou: a city evolved with the landscape	136
4.2	City Planning of Huizhou as shaped by the landscape	164
4.3	Manifesting landscape into place: the maintaining of the spirit of the place in Huizhou inner city	170
4.4	Extracting tangible memory cues to intangible ones: texts and scenes on the West Lake	198
4.5	Incarnating intangible memory cues to tangible ones: the formation of new places	212

4.6	The intertwining of effective memory cues in Huizhou: the Lake-City-River relationship	224
Chapter Five:	Principles to revitalize the inter-relationship of the effective memory cues in Huizhou	231
5.1	Revitalizing the landscape and place in Huizhou	232
5.2	Extracting the distinctiveness of the landscape and place in Huizhou into visualized and readable forms through public participations	235
5.3	Incarnating the texts and distinctive scenes in Huizhou into recreated physical environment	239
5.4	Reinforcing the Lake-City-River relationship through the recreation of the water bodies	242
Conclusions		245
Bibliography		247
Attachment:	Urban morphology of Guangdong cities in late imperial China	

Ironically, the Pei's Mansion had already been designated as a protected historical monument by the municipal government, receiving the official "Wen Wu Bao Hu Dan Wei 文物保護單位" (protected unit) status in March 1999.² I. M. Pei himself had hand-written a number of letters to the government inquiring about the consistence of conservation policy, and asked how a monument declared as being worthy of preservation could be demolished several months later.³ However, the government officials remain adamant that a green belt is more important to the city than a historic house.⁴

The Pei's family dilemma presents a troubling example common to China. The absence of support and the non-enforcement of conservation policy reflected in this case raises three much larger questions. Firstly, there is no guiding principle in China on the making of conservation decisions (Why conserve in China?). Secondly, there is no consensus among the Chinese on what is worthy to be conserved in their city: a historic monument, an old street, a former colonial quarter – or a new city park? (What to conserve in China?). Thirdly, there is no common understanding about the enforcement of conservation strategy, which is

had lead to great demand in housing. The European developers' solution to the housing shortage was to take a bunch of traditional Chinese houses, packed them tight against one another and mass-produced them in brick. The local Shanghainese named these houses as "Shikumen".

See *History Condemned: The I. M. Pei House*, at <http://www.chinanow.com.english.shanghai/city/features/peihouseprint.html>; and *I. M. Pei's family estate*, at <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/star/2001/0315/fo5-1.html>.

² In an article in *Shanghai's Shen Bao* 上海晨報 on 11 November 2000, it quoted from Mr. Yin, the official in charge of executing the demolition, that "with a big park, and only one house, these people will be too comfortable. It's like asking the government to take care of them like exotic birds!"

See *History Condemned: The I. M. Pei House*, at <http://www.chinanow.com.english.shanghai/city/features/peihouseprint.html>.

³ *I. M. Pei's family estate*, at <http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/star/2001/0315/fo5-1.html>.

⁴ In China, all the artifacts declared for conservation are called the protected units "Wen Wu Bao Hu Dan Wei 文物保護單位". They are categorized into the state-level, provincial-level and municipal-level according to their degree of significance.

See Chan, Jickkong, *99 Historic Cities of China* (Hong Kong: Historic City Books, 1999).

subjected to officials' subjective interpretations (How to conserve in China?).

These three questions formulate the research issues of this thesis, which is critical not only to Pei's case, but also to the generation of an urban conservation principle appropriate to China. This thesis develops the hypothesis that the revitalization of effective memory cues is a key to the urban conservation of Chinese cities, for it sustains the collective memory of its people. It argues that the sustaining of collective memory is the essence regarding the transmission of Chinese culture, and should therefore be the ultimate task for urban conservation. This can be achieved through the revitalization of effective memory cues, which are the fragments or representational forms effective in retrieving the collective memory of the Chinese cities. This thesis will further elaborate and substantiate this argument.

The development of urban conservation in China

Pei's case is not surprising to those who understand the development of urban conservation in China. The notion of conservation originated in Europe during the 18th century, and later influenced other parts of the world.⁵ It has spread to China for only few decades, in contrast to the country's 6000-years-long history. Not until 1930 when the returned-architect Liang Sicheng 梁思成 joined the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture 中國營造學社 and raised the concern on historic structures, the Chinese had no idea to protect their heritage.⁶ In 1949, under the

⁵ Paul Philippot, Director Emeritus of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM), argued that the modern concept of restoration was shaped in the eighteenth century with the development of Western historical thought and as a result of tension between the rationalism of the Enlightenment and pre-Romantic and Romantic sentiment. Paul Philippot, foreword to *A History of Architectural Conservation*, Jukka Hukilehto (Oxford, Mass.: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1999), vii.

⁶ Liang Sicheng 梁思成 (1901-1972) was an influential figure in the modern history of Chinese Architecture. He was educated at the University of Pennsylvania Department of Architecture. He

request of the People's Liberation Army (PLA), Liang drafted the first National Architectural Heritage List for the PLA to protect the heritage sites. Based on this, in 1961 the State Council published for the first time the major National Heritage Sites to be protected. This began the promotion of heritage through legislation in China.⁷

Liang also raised concern about urban conservation in China. In the early 1950s, there were many debates about the need to protect historic cities, catalyzed by the demolition of the marvelous city wall in Beijing.⁸ The argument went on for decades. In the 1980s, to prevent the extensive loss of historic architecture and townscapes due to rapid modernization, the State Council adopted timely measures to protect those cities with outstanding historic values, through designating them as the "Historic and cultural cities 歷史文化名城".⁹ Although designation technically

returned to China in 1928 and took up the post to establish and head a Department of Architecture at Northeastern University in Shenyang. In 1930 he started to help in the editing of the Bulletin of the Society for the Research in Chinese Architecture 中國營造學社, and in 1931 he formally joined the society. The society was established in Beijing in 1929 by a wealthy retired official Zhu Qiqian 朱啓鈞 as a consequence of his discovery of the historic doctrine *Ying Zao Fa Shi* 營造法式, a handbook of structural regulation on eleventh-century buildings. In order to understand this handbook, Liang started the survey to the surviving buildings at that period.

See Liang, Sicheng, *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture: A Study of the Development of its Structural System and the Evolution of its Types* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984).

⁷ Subsequent decrees have totaled the number of National Heritage Sites to 750. See Chan, Jickkong, *99 Historic Cities of China* (Hong Kong: Historic City Books, 1999).

⁸ The concern on urban conservation was also initiated by Liang Sicheng. In the early 1950s, he disagreed with the demolition of the city wall of Beijing, and counter-proposed to preserve the historic townscape by diverting growth to the suburbs. His idea, though not accepted by the Beijing government, was still influential to the urban planning of many Chinese cities afterwards.

⁹ There are three criteria for the selection of the "Historic and cultural cities" in China:

- (a) Possession of abundant and valuable cultural relics;
- (b) Current city outlook reflects the traditional layout in context;
- (c) Preservation of these cities and their historic districts can produce positive impact and guidelines for other cities.

The "Historic and cultural cities" are categorized into the state-level and provincial levels according to the degree they reflect the above three criteria. In 2001 there are a total of 99 cities designated as state-level "Historic and cultural cities".

See Chan, Jickkong, *99 Historic Cities of China* (Hong Kong: Historic City Books, 1999).

obligates the local governments to take comprehensive actions to rationalize their economic development and land use policies in relation to their heritage, the designation in reality is more an honor than a mandatory policy in conserving the historic cities. The local governments always interpret the policy on their own, as in the case of the Pei's Mansion. An understandable principle that guides the making of conservation decisions is still pending in China.

At the same time, the global conservation trend is shifting its focus. Ever since the declaration of the Nara Document of Authenticity in 1994 during the 16th meeting of the World Heritage Committee, ideas about “authentic” conservation and the significance of “intangible heritage” has awakened many conservationists. Accordingly, the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) has selected “valuing intangibles” as their 1999-2002 triennial work theme.¹⁰ This hints at arising concern among historic conservation professionals about intangible heritage. Similarly, some have begun to be aware of the cultural diversity in conservation needs, that because of differences in historic backgrounds, cultures and living patterns, no single conservation principle can be deemed universally applicable to all places. The notion of intangible heritage and cultural diversity are particularly important in so-called eastern countries, where folk traditions and intangible heritage have immense cultural significance. China is one of these places. However, how to translate these two notions into an effective conservation strategy is still an outstanding question that challenges many conservationists. This thesis meets this challenge by proposing a strategy that involves the conservation of intangible heritage in Guangdong.

¹⁰ See the web-site of ICOMOS, at <http://www.international.icomos.org/harare2002.htm>

Guangdong – the southern region of China

Cultural diversity applies not only on a country-to-country basis, but also among the various regions in China. The concept of regional differences has long existed in China.¹¹ G. William Skinner argues that in late imperial periods the Chinese formed not a single integrated urban system, but instead several regional systems, each only tenuously connected with its neighbors.¹² Each of these regions has its own culture. Therefore, to illustrate an urban conservation principle specific to a given culture, I have selected Guangdong Province 廣東省 to examine in this thesis.

Guangdong, a region called Lingnan 嶺南 in imperial times, was often considered by the mainland Chinese as a barbaric frontier.¹³ Therefore, the planning of Guangdong cities may not strictly follow the orthodox planning principle – the Wangcheng plan 皇城圖 (Fig. 0.1).¹⁴ Though the Wangcheng plan greatly influenced

¹¹ According to G. William Skinner, the term region in human geography refers to any partition of activity-space made according to one of two criteria: (a) the homogeneity of things to be considered, producing a set of formal or uniform regions; or (b) the interrelatedness of things to be considered, producing a set of functional or nodal regions.

There are nine macro-regions in China as defined by Skinner. They are North China, Northwest China, Upper Yangtze, Middle Yangtze, Lower Yangtze, Southeast Coast, Lingnan and Yungui.

See G. William Skinner, "Regional Urbanization in Nineteenth-Century China", in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1977), 211-249; particularly the map on 214 showing the regions' relation to major rivers.

¹² *Ibid.*, 211.

¹³ The present Guangdong Province falls into, but not exactly equal to the Lingnan region 嶺南 in late Imperial China. The Lingnan region was the southern most macro-region in China, which covered the entire present Guangdong Province and part of Guangxi Province.

Before the Qin Dynasty, Lingnan was occupied mainly by the native Yue people. The mainland Han Chinese called them as "Nan Man 南蠻" – the south barbarians.

簡明廣東史, 蔣祖緣, 方志欽主編, 嶺南文庫編輯委員會, 廣東中華民族文化促進會合編。廣州: 廣東人民出版社, 1993。

¹⁴ The Wangcheng plan was an ideal planning model recorded in the *Kaogong Ji* 考工記 section of the *Zhou Li* 周禮. *Kaogong Ji* was the rules of workmanship of the institutions of the Zhou Dynasty written in 770-476 B.C. It described the format of the Wangcheng 皇城, the sovereign capital as:

"The jiangren constructs the state capitals. He makes a square nine Li on each side; each side has three gates. Within the capital area nine north-south and nine east-west streets. The north-south streets are nine carriage tracks in width. On the left (as one faces south, or, to the east) is the Ancestral Temple, and to the right (west) are the Altars of Soil and Grain. In the front is the Hall of Audience and behind the markets."

city-planning in imperial Chinese cities, some historians (notably Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt) argue that “all Chinese imperial city plans share numerous features, and that the notion of a single, non-evolutionary planning system in China is far too simplistic.”¹⁵ Nevertheless, disappointingly, there has not been much scholarly research devoted to the urban morphology, planning and development in both imperial and contemporary Guangdong. One can note references to historic sources, such as the gazetteers and ancient maps to grasp an image of imperial Guangdong; whereas for contemporary Guangdong, scholars usually focus only on the provincial capital Guangzhou 廣州, the Pearl River Delta Open Economic Area 珠江三角洲經濟開發區 and the Special Economic Zones.¹⁶ Guangdong cities beyond these areas have heretofore been neglected by scholars. In addition, most of the urban studies are written in Chinese, except for a few works by scholars such as Ezra F. Vogel.¹⁷ Vogel’s work provides significant background information about Guangdong; however, he focuses mainly on the province’s socio-economic developments. Complementing Vogel’s others work about Guangdong, this thesis aims to provide something which is still lacking in the field: a general survey of the morphology and planning of Guangdong cities.

See *Kaogong Ji*, *Juan 2*, IIa-IIb.

The translation is cited in Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 33.

¹⁵ Ibid. Steinhardt, however, did not provide further evidence about whether the city plans differed in essential ways or because of other reasons.

¹⁶ There are three Special Economic Zones (SEZ) 經濟特區 in Guangdong: Shenzhen 深圳, Zhuhai 珠海 and Shantou 汕頭.

¹⁷ The most representative scholarly work on Guangdong is tEzra F. Vogel, *One step ahead in China: Guangdong under reform* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989). He researches the history and socio-economic development of modern Guangdong.

Composition and research methodology of the thesis

The thesis proposes answers to the three research questions posted:

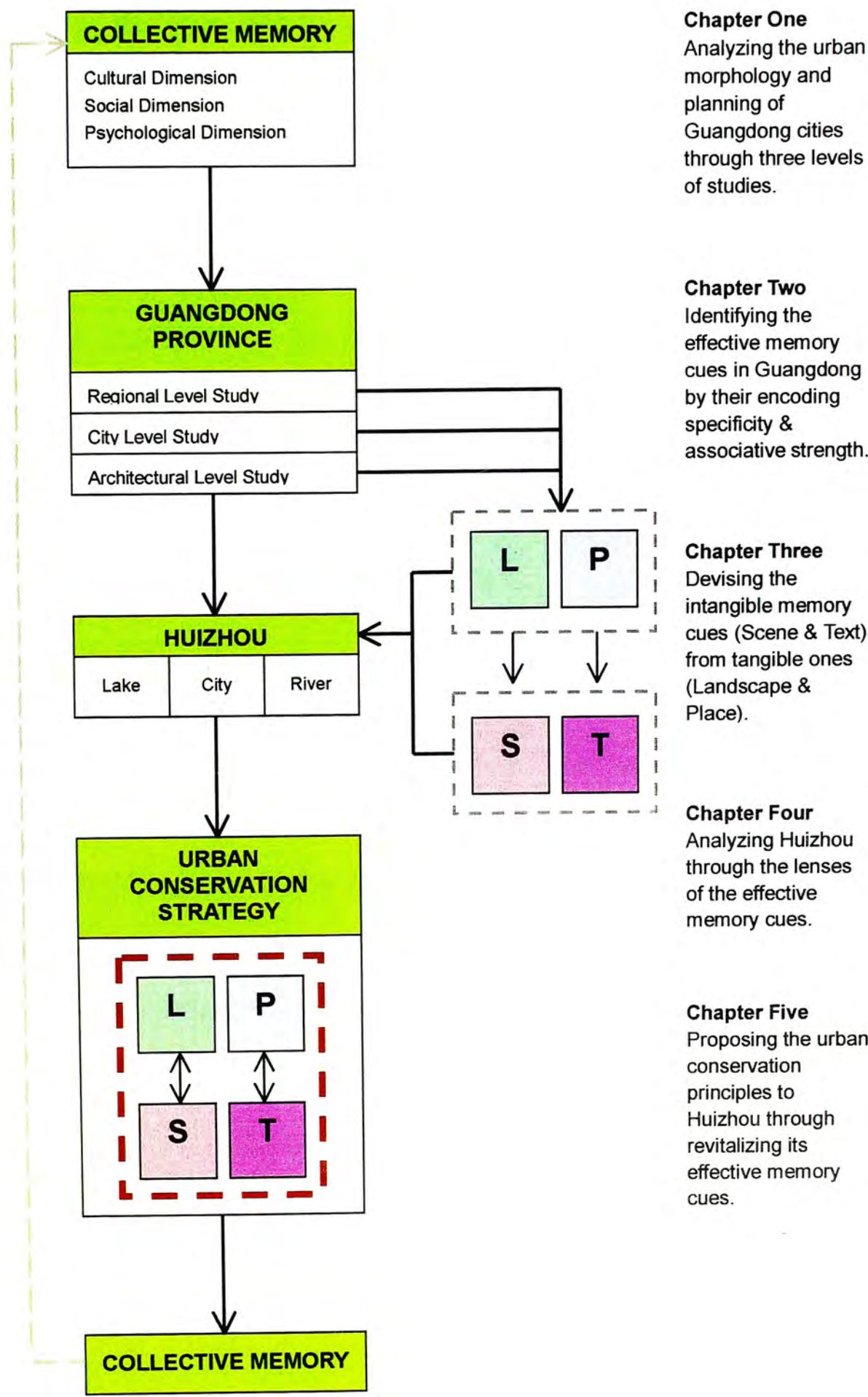
Why conserve? – To sustain the collective memory.

What to conserve? – The effective memory cues in the city.

How to conserve? - Through the revitalization of effective memory cues.

These answers will be substantiated in the five chapters that follow, each of which will emphasize different aspects of these answers. Chapter One presents the theoretical framework which leads to the answer of the question “Why conserve in China?” From the cultural, social and psychological dimensions, it analyzes why the effective memory cues are the key to sustain collective memory, which is the central task of urban conservation in Chinese cities. Three chapters then follow that aim to answer the question “What to conserve in China?” Chapter Two is an analysis of the morphology and planning of Guangdong cities. By analyzing at three levels – regional, city-wide and architectural – the tangible memory cues to Guangdong will be revealed, which are the landscape and the place. From these two tangible memory cues, Chapter Three explores those intangible ones, which are the scene and the text. Chapter Four is an illustration of how the effective memory cues exist and inter-relate in one particular city Huizhou. Finally, the answer to the question “How to conserve in China?” is proposed in Chapter Five, by proposing urban conservation strategies to Huizhou, which center around the revitalization of effective memory cues.

Thesis framework



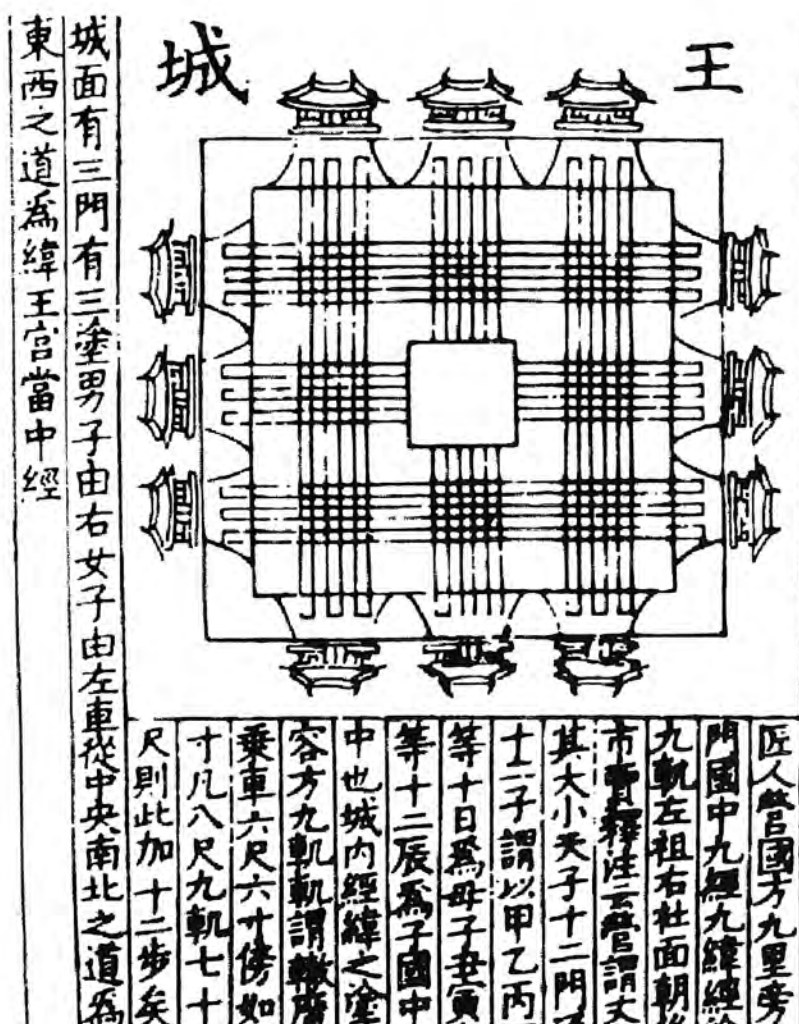
The effective memory cues in Guangdong have great importance to this thesis. Therefore, the thesis research aims to investigate those cues effective in retrieving the collective memory to the Guangdong cities. They are identified in two dimensions. In the vertical dimension, the evolution of the Guangdong cities through time is examined from the late imperial period (Ming and Qing Dynasty, 1368-1911 A.D.) to the present time. This is the period during which Guangdong cities considerably develop. However, in several cases, the history of Guangdong earlier than this period has also been included to provide a proper background for the understanding of its evolution.

In the horizontal dimension, cross-comparisons of Guangdong cities are conducted on three levels (Table 0.1). The regional level study involves eight cities that are the prefectural capitals, Fu 府城, during the late imperial period. The city level study involves 16 cities, which are either the imperial prefectural capitals, or today's "Historic and cultural cities 歷史文化名城" designated by the State Council. The architectural level study involves five cities, which are the overlapping of the two lists. Through these studies, the effective memory cues in Guangdong are identified.

Finally, Huizhou is selected for detailed examination. With the help of historic sources and field study, the inter-relationship between these effective memory cues, all associated with landscape, place, scene and text, are investigated in Huizhou.

Regional Level Study	City Level Study	Architectural Level Study
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Prefectural capital in late imperial China 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Historic and Cultural City" (state-level and provincial-level) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overlapping of the two lists
Guangzhou 廣州 Chaozhou 潮州 Zhaoqing 肇慶 Huizhou 惠州 Leizhou 雷州	Guangzhou 廣州 Chaozhou 潮州 Zhaoqing 肇慶 Huizhou 惠州 Leizhou 雷州	Guangzhou 廣州 Chaozhou 潮州 Zhaoqing 肇慶 Huizhou 惠州 Leizhou 雷州
Shaozhou 韶州 Nanxiong 南雄 Gaozhou 高州	Foshan 佛山 Meizhou 梅州 Dongguan 東莞 Jieyang 揭陽 Haifeng 海豐 Luoding 羅定 Pinghai 平海 Tuocheng 陀城	

(Table 0.1) Guangdong cities selected for examination.



(Fig.0.1) The Wangcheng Plan - an ideal planning model recorded in the *Kaogong Ji* section of the *Zhou Li*. It described the format of the sovereign capital. The construction of the capital was governed by a rigid dimensioning system.

CHAPTER ONE: EFFECTIVE MEMORY CUES ARE THE KEYS TO SUSTAIN COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN CHINA

1.1 CULTURAL DIMENSION: THE CHINESE SUSTAINABLE CHAIN OF MEMORIES

The Master said, “I am not one who was born with great wisdom, I love the ancients and diligently seek wisdom among them.”¹⁸

子曰：「我非生而知之者，好古，敏以求之者也。」

The Master said, “Transmitting insight, but never creating insight, standing by my words and devoted to the ancients.”¹⁹

子曰：「述而不作，信而好古。」

The Master said, “If you could revive the ancient and used it to understand the modern, then you were worthy to be a teacher.”²⁰

子曰：「溫故而知新，可以爲師矣。」

These three verses are not only famous verses of the greatest Chinese philosopher, Confucius 孔子, but they also reflect the Chinese people’s fondness of the past. They highly respect their traditions, are eager to seek wisdom from history, and the ancients are greatly esteemed. However, this fondness for the past has not prevented the extensive loss of historic buildings throughout Chinese history. Xiang Yu 項羽 destroyed the Palace A Fang Gong 阿房宮 to declare his overturning of the Qin Empire; the People’s Republic of China demolished the marvelous city wall of Beijing to enhance urban growth; the Cultural Revolution caused the disastrous obliteration of

¹⁸ *The Analects*, VII.19, trans. David Hinton (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 1998).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, VII.1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, II.11.

antiquities to symbolize the victory over the feudal system... Age after age, unrecoverable loss of historic architecture has repeatedly occurred in China. If it was not because of intended destruction, the historic architecture usually decays naturally with time. In Imperial China people had neither the concept nor the practice of conservation. In contrast to the six thousand years' long history of the country, most of the historic architecture remain today can only be dated back to late imperial period with relatively short history (1368-1911 A.D.). Very few exceptional cases can reach earlier period.²¹ Why don't the Chinese preserve their historic architecture? Is it because they do not respect antiquities? Is it because they do not have this awareness? Is it because they do not have enough knowledge and technology to complete the task?

The Chinese's respect of the past is not manifested in conservation efforts to historic structures. Chinese philosophers suggest that all tangible materials will disappear one day and cannot be preserved; only intangible values can remain eternal.²² Instead their fondness of the past is manifested in a high respect for the ancients, and in their inevitable duties to transmit traditions. The Chinese shoulder a natural-born duty to transmit what they have inherited from the ancients.

"Transmission" is in fact the pivotal central mechanism in Chinese culture.

To allow "transmission", memory is an essential element to the Chinese. It is memory that links the present Chinese to their pasts. Only when they retrieve their memories to their pasts, are they able to inherit traditions. And in return, the present Chinese will also be memorized by their later-born, and this allows tradition to be transmitted from generation to generation. This creates a sustainable chain of memory

²¹ Only several buildings remained today can be dated back to Tang Dynasty. The oldest one is the Nan Chan Temple 南禪寺 constructed in 782 A.D. in Shanxi Province.

²² For example, the "Three Immortals" suggested by the Chinese are: virtues, merits and words 立德、立功、立言.

that spans time and links generations. The Chinese revive their pasts from memory and apply them to the modern. This prevents Chinese culture from freezing in nostalgia, but instead propels it in a sustainable manner. While transmission is the central piece of mechanism in Chinese culture, the sustaining of memory is the joint of this transmission. Therefore, what has to be conserved are the elements that lead to the sustaining of memory – a memory shared by a common culture, one that simply can be called “collective memory.”

1.2 SOCIAL DIMENSION: COLLECTIVE MEMORY IN THE CITY

The social nature of memory

Collective memory is the memory of the past shared by a common culture.²³ It is based upon a very simple yet epoch-making idea that our own memories are not entirely personal. Instead, memory is, at least in part, a social phenomenon. This concept was first introduced by the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs. His primary theory was that human memory can only function within a collective context. It is in society that people normally acquire their memories. It is also in society that they recall, recognize, and localize their memory.²⁴ A common case occurring frequently in our lives that can illustrate this. In a gathering with friends, one mentions a past event that they have experienced together. Then, long-buried memories are

²³ The term collective memory (*memoire collective*) first appeared in Halbwachs' landmark work *Les cadres sociaux de la memoire* (The Social Framework of Memory, 1925). Following this he wrote other works related to the topic, including “La memoire collective chez les musiciens”, *Revue Philosophique*, 127 (1939), 136-165; *La topographie legendaire des Evangiles en Terre Sainte* (The Legendary Topography of the Gospels in the Holy Land, 1941); and *La memoire collective* (1950).

²⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, “The Social Frameworks of Memory”, in *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Ewis A. Coser (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 38.

suddenly reawakened. We talk about it, bit by bit. Our vague memories become vivid again, like pieces of puzzles being placed together to recreate a whole picture. With the help of others, we are able to recall the event. Such sharing of memory within any social group, community or common culture is called “collective memory”.

Our experience and memory do not belong solely to ourselves; instead, we share collective memory with others. We are able to recall only by linking up with the memories of others. Though memories may idiosyncratically be located in individual minds, they remain social and cultural for we are inevitably being placed in a social network.²⁵ The sharing of collective memory exists on all levels - from only two persons like lovers, to a larger group such as a family, peer groups, community, and undoubtedly the city, which relates directly to this thesis.

The city is the collective memory of its people

Collective memory is crucial to the city for it is the fundamental element that builds up its identity. It affects in two ways: vertically, it helps the present age to link to its pasts; horizontally, it helps the individual to localize himself in any social group.

Vertically across the time, the sustaining of collective memory ensures the link between generations, and this permits the society to be aware of its identity through time. When we preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced, a sense of our identity is perpetuated.²⁶ On the other hand,

²⁵ Michael Schudson believed that memories were remained social and cultural though they were located in individual minds because:

- (a) they operate through the supra-individual cultural construction of languages;
- (b) they generally came into play in response to social stimulation, rehearsal, or social cues – the act of remembering was itself interactive, prompted by cultural artifacts and social cues, employed for social purpose, and even enacted by cooperative activities; and
- (c) there were socially structured patterns of recall.

Michael Schudson, “Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory”, in *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past*, ed. Daniel L. Schacter (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 347.

²⁶ Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 47.

horizontally across the social dimension, collective memory defines and indicates a social circle where a group of people shares a common remembrance. This memory sharing tells us who belongs to the same social group with us. This helps us to localize ourselves in the city and builds up an identity. The Italian urban theorist Aldo Rossi even proclaimed that memory is the “soul of the city.”²⁷

Not only Aldo Rossi, but ever since Halbwachs first introduced the social dimension of memory and other sociologists further enriched the findings,²⁸ many urban theorists have tried to assert the indispensable relationship between the collective memory and the city. Among them, Marcel Poete is a pioneer, whose ideas influenced both Aldo Rossi and Christine Boyer. Poete noted that although cities evolve and develop with time, they tend to retain their original pattern and grow according to the direction and meaning of their older artifacts. He proposed the theory of persistence, that across historical periods there exists a certain constancy of themes discernible in a city’s monuments, streets and plans. They are the artifacts that give meaning to and constitute our memory to the city. In Poete’s analysis, the plan and street acquires the major significance. He stressed that the city is the persistence of the plan.²⁹

Building upon Poete’s theory of persistence, Aldo Rossi named the artifacts that

²⁷ Aldo Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, trans. Diane and Joan Ockman, American ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1982), 130.

²⁸ Another influential scholar on the topic is the sociologist and ethnologist Roger Bastide. His study on African religion provides nuances and corrections to Halbwachs’ analysis. See Bastide (1960) and Bastide (1970).

Paul Connerton in *How societies remember* (1989) surveyed recent studies regarding collective memory, which included E. Shils, *Tradition* (1981); Z. Bauman, *Memories of Class* (1982); E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger ed., *The Invention of Tradition* (1983); P. Nora, *Les lieux de la memoire* (1984); R. Boyer, *Atrocity and Amnesia. The Political Novel since 1945* (1985); B. A. Smith, *Politics and Remembrance* (1985); P. Wright, *On Living in an Old Country* (1985); D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985); and F. Haug, *Female Sexualization: a Collective Work of Memory* (1987).

²⁹ Rossi, *The Architecture of the City*, 51.

persist in the city through time as “permanence”. He believed that permanences present two aspects: on the one hand, they can be considered as propelling elements enabling us to understand the city in its totality; but on the other hand, they are pathological elements that we can link only tenuously to an urban system.³⁰ Poete’s analysis greatly impressed Rossi, except that he had never attempted to draw any distinction between the plan and single artifacts. Rossi, instead, discovered that the persistence in an urban artifact often causes it to become identified as a monument. Its persistence is a result of its capacity to constitute the city, its history and art, its being and memory.³¹ Therefore, the monument, in his view, was where the collective memory of the city was anchored.

Both Poete and Rossi focused only on the material order of the city. However, what about the immaterial aspect of the city that concern the Chinese? (Not only the Chinese, ever since the publication of the Nara Document of Authenticity in 1994, the global conservation field is shifting their concerns to the intangible dimension of heritage.) And besides monuments, are there other elements that collective memory can anchor? If there are elements in Chinese cities that can sustain the collective memory, can they also be called the city’s monuments? How to ensure that they are propelling rather than pathological to the city? The concept of monument in China has to be redefined.

Christine Boyer also criticized the old practice of architecture, city planning and historic preservation in manipulating only the material form and order of the city. In contrast to the persistency raised by Poete and Rossi, she has been aware of the city’s ever-changing nature. She noticed that the city’s physical structures constantly evolve,

³⁰ Ibid., 59.

³¹ Ibid., 60.

are deformed or forgotten, or are adapted to other purposes or eradicated by different needs. The demands and pressures of social reality have constantly affected the material order of the city.³² She believed that memory, besides being latent in the material form and generating structure of the city, is also about architectural entertainment and the pleasure that a spectator can find in, or at least expects from, architectural expression.³³ Boyer highlighted, on the contrary, the immaterial form of the city. She remarked that the city of collective memory possess both an overlaying of historical imaginary and a representational form of the current epoch. The city is the collective expression of architecture and it carries in the weaving and unraveling of its fabric the memory traces of earlier architectural forms, city plans, and public monuments.³⁴ In such way, different layers of historical time are superimposed on each other in the city. At the same time, not only does the city structure shift with time, but its representational form changes as well.³⁵ For the contemporary city, Boyer remarked the representational form as the City of Spectacles – a city in which appropriations of historical styles and restaged scenographic allusions have now become bounded nodes within an urban composition criss-crossed by highways and invisible electronic circuitry.³⁶

When Boyer describes the contemporary city as the City of Spectacles, she seems

³² M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 31.

³³ Ibid., 19.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Representational forms are metonymic figures in which one element is taken for the whole: hence the picture frame stands for traditional society, the panorama for the modern, and the cinema or television screen for the contemporary. Boyer remarked the representational form of cities in the traditional, modern, and contemporary time periods as the City as a Work of Art, the City as Panorama, and the City of Spectacle.
Ibid., 32-33.

³⁶ Ibid., 47.

not to have taken into account the cultural diversity in global cities. Are the contemporary Chinese cities also bearing the same character of the City of Spectacles? Current phenomena in Chinese cities seem to be different. Then, how can we determine what is the representational form of any specific cities? Boyer did not hint to us any method, unlike Kevin Lynch who introduced the use of mental map to unveil the image of the city as remembered by the people. The significance of Lynch's study lay not in the results, but in the method that leads to his results. By asking the interviewees to evoke their own images of their physical environment through descriptions and sketches, Lynch extracted five elements that are crucial to the image of the city: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks.

Nevertheless, there are two major insufficiencies in his study. Firstly, as he admitted, his study on the image of the city concentrated only on the physical elements. Although he understood that an environmental image may be analyzed into three components (identity, structure and meaning), he believed that meanings of city are so various that they can be separated from the other two elements.³⁷ Therefore, his study emphasized the physical environment as the independent variable, and looked for physical qualities that related to the attributes of identity and structure in the mental image. The meaning and other immaterial aspects of the city were neglected.

Secondly, the memories that he collected from individual minds do not truly reflect the collective memory of the city. By using the method of a mental map, Lynch collected the memories of individual interviewees, and drew out common themes that he believed were the elements that formed the image of the city. However, the sample size Lynch made (30 interviewees) was too small to be deemed as representative. And most importantly, he neglected the fact that the collective memory of the city is usually

³⁷ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of The City* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1964), 8-9.

located in institutions rather than in individual human minds, in the form of rules, laws, standardized procedures and records.³⁸ Michael Schudson argued that collective memory may refer not to socially organized memories in individuals who experienced the past, but to the socially produced artifacts that are the memory repositories for it – libraries, museums, monuments, language itself in cliches and word coinages, place names, history books, and so forth.³⁹ Collective memory is not necessarily personal experience, in other words, it is reconstructed by the society. Through reading history, listening to others' experience, participating in rituals and so on, a person is stimulated to reconstruct the memory of the past. In this case, the past is stored and interpreted by the society. Therefore, in studying the collective memory to the city, Lynch's method is not applicable, as it only deal with individuals but not with the society as a whole.

Nevertheless, Poete, Rossi, Boyer and Lynch have provided us tremendous insights about the indispensable relationship between collective memory and the city. Their works have constructed a solid ground for this thesis to build upon. However, this thesis will also emphasize two areas that they have not yet touched. First, with an awareness of cultural diversity and the uprising concern on intangible heritage, this thesis will focus specifically on Chinese cities, whose culture is greatly different from those European and American cities that Rossi and others studied. Second, this thesis attempts to compensate for the lack of psychological references in the studies by Rossi

³⁸ Michael Schudson, *Watergate in American Memory: how we remember, forget and reconstruct the past* (New York: BasicBooks, 1992), 51.

³⁹ Michael Schudson summarized three basic principles regarding collective memory that supports that:

- (a) Collective memory may refer to the fact that individual memory is socially organized or socially mediated;
- (b) Collective memory may refer not to socially organized memories in individuals who experienced the past but to the socially produced artifacts that are the memory repositories for it – libraries, museums, monuments, language itself in cliches and word coinages, place names, history books, and so forth.
- (c) Collective memory may be the image of the past held by individuals who did not themselves experiences it but learned of it through cultural artifacts.

Schudson, "Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory", 348.

and the others. When discussing the notion of memory, a topic often researched by psychologists, one should not avoid taking their findings into account. Therefore, this thesis will pull together the psychological dimension of collective memory with the study of cities.

1.3 PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSION: EFFECTIVE MEMORY CUES TO SUSTAIN COLLECTIVE MEMORY

The memory process: encoding, storage and retrieval

Several psychologists have argued that the memory process involves three stages: encoding, storage and retrieval. Encoding refers to initial learning or acquisition of information; storage refers to maintaining information over time; while retrieval refers to accessing stored information. Two firmly-held principles in cognitive psychology have revealed the linkage between these three stages. They are the Levels-of-Processing Approach proposed in 1972 by Fergus I. M. Craik and R. S. Lockhart,⁴⁰ and the Encoding Specificity Principle proposed in 1973 by Endel Tulving.⁴¹

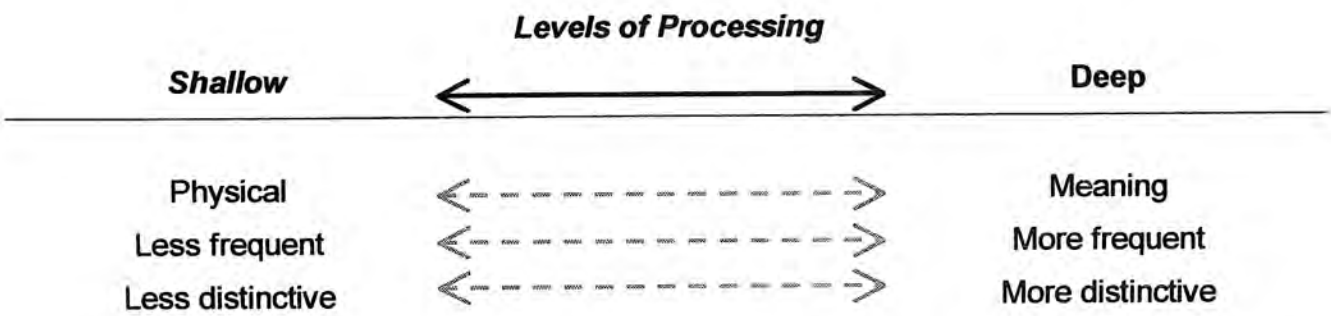
When an item is presented, it draws our attention.⁴² However, we will filter the incoming information and select those that interest us (consciously and unconsciously). Once the item is attended and selected, it must be encoded for remembering. Craik

⁴⁰ The Level-of-processing Approach was first presented in the paper by Fergus I. M. Craik and R. S. Lockhart, "Levels of processing: A framework for memory research", in *Journal of Verbal learning and Verbal Behavior*, 11 (1972): 671–684.
See also Laird S. Cermak, Fergus I.M. Craik ed, *Levels of processing in human memory* (Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1979).

⁴¹ The Encoding Specificity Principle was proposed by Endel Tulving, advanced in the 1970s and still championed today. The reference on the principle is Endel Tulving and D. M. Thomson, "Encoding specificity and retrieval processes in episodic memory", *Psychological Review*, 80 (1973): 352-373.
See also Endel Tulving, *Elements of episodic memory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983).

⁴² Item here means any to-be-remembered item, which can be object, concept, event etc.

and Lockhart discovered that stimulus information is processed at multiple levels simultaneously depending upon its characteristics. The shallow levels involve analysis in terms of physical or sensory characteristics, while in deeper levels information is processed in terms of its meaning, and this meaning may be analyzed in terms of other association, images, or past experience which are related to the information being processed. Therefore, the more meaning a person extracts from the stimulus information, the greater the depth of processing. Their Levels-of-processing Approach argued that deeper levels of information processing allow more permanent retention than shallower ones. In other words, the deeper the processing, the more will be remembered. Craik and Lockhart analyzed three factors that affect the depth of processing (Fig. 1.11):⁴³



(Fig. 1.11) Diagram showing the factors affecting the levels of processing.

1. Meaning: The more meaning we can extract from an event, the deeper we are processing it.
2. Rehearsal: Continuous attention and repeating of an event will increase the depth of processing.
3. Distinctiveness: The more distinctively an item is elaborated the better it will be remembered.

⁴³ Craik and Lockhart, “CHARM is not enough: Comments on Eich’s model of cued recall”, in *Physiological Review*, 93 (1986), 360-364.

Nearly at the same time that Craik and Lockhart proposed the Levels-of-processing Approach, Tulving, a significant researcher of human memory, discovered the relationship between encoding and retrieval: a better encoding process will result in better retrieval. Tulving found that explicit remembering always depends on the similarity or affinity between the encoding and retrieval process. His Encoding Specificity Principle provides a general theoretical framework for understanding how contextual information affects memory. It states that memory is improved when information available at encoding is also available at retrieval.

Memory cues to aid memory retrieval

Tulving claimed that retrieval is the key process in memory. Memory cannot be sustained if people fail to retrieve the stored information of the past into current consciousness. As Frederic C. Bartlett already introduced in the early 1930s, retrieval is a reconstruction process whereby aspects of the content of previously presented materials will be woven into a coherent whole, with the aid of preexisting knowledge.⁴⁴ Our memory is not an accurate, literal representation of the past, but it is instead reconstructed in accordance with our present desires and needs.

To allow the reconstruction of memory to happen, Tulving discovered that the provision of a memory cue is essential. A memory cue is a fragment or a representational form of the original item that can be used to evoke memory. In Tulving's Encoding Specificity Principle he asserted that information can be recalled only when memory cues are provided along with the information at the time of

⁴⁴ Sir Frederic Charles Bartlett (1886-1969) was Britain's most outstanding psychologist between the World Wars. He has profoundly affected the ideas of memory research in the field of experimental psychology. His landmark work *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* published in 1932 has changed the perspective of memory psychologist everywhere. He claimed that remembering is an act of reconstruction, not an act of reproduction. Frederic. C. Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* (New York: Macmillan, 1932).

learning. The likelihood of memory recall depended on the extent to which the memory cue was reinstated or matched the original encoding.

A simple case can illustrate this idea. When we return to the place where we spent our childhood, when we revisit the house where we lived before, when we enter the room that we usually play with our siblings, when we touch the chair inside the room that we once sat... the vague memory of our childhood suddenly flashes back and becomes vivid. We are able to recall our childhood because of the presentation of the places, the house, the room and the chair – they all serve as memory cues to retrieve our memory to the past.

This example shows us not only the necessity of the memory cue in recall, but also reveals two factors that enhance memory retrieval. The first factor concerns the degree of reinstatement of context.⁴⁵ Using the same example, imagine when we return to the place those memory cues are not placed in the similar context as in our childhood. For example, the old house is now submerged by a newly constructed building, or the color and setting in the room are changed, or the chair is now put into other place... We will find it more difficult to retrieve our memory even though the same cues are presented. As highlighted in Tulving's principle, the likelihood of a successful retrieval increases as the similarity between the retrieval context and the encoding context increases.

Another factor concerns the intertwining of memory cues. When we see only the old chair we may not be able to recall our childhood; however, together with the room, the house and the place, the memories become vivid. Multiple memory cues intertwine

⁴⁵ Context is the interconnected whole that gave meaning to the parts. The word context come from the Latin *contexere* meaning "to weave together", "to join together" or "to compose". The word usually denoted either semantic context or environmental context. Though both of them can enhance memory retrieval, however, to focus our discussion, here in this thesis we will limit to the study of environmental context only.

to form a stronger cue that enhances memory retrieval.

Effectiveness of memory cues

Are there any cues better than others in recalling our memory? Ever since Tulving raised the importance of memory cues in retrieval, psychologists have continued to investigate on the effectiveness of the memory cues. Their findings can be categorized into two main streams: one is the encoding specificity of the memory cue; another one is its associative strength.

1. Encoding specificity approach

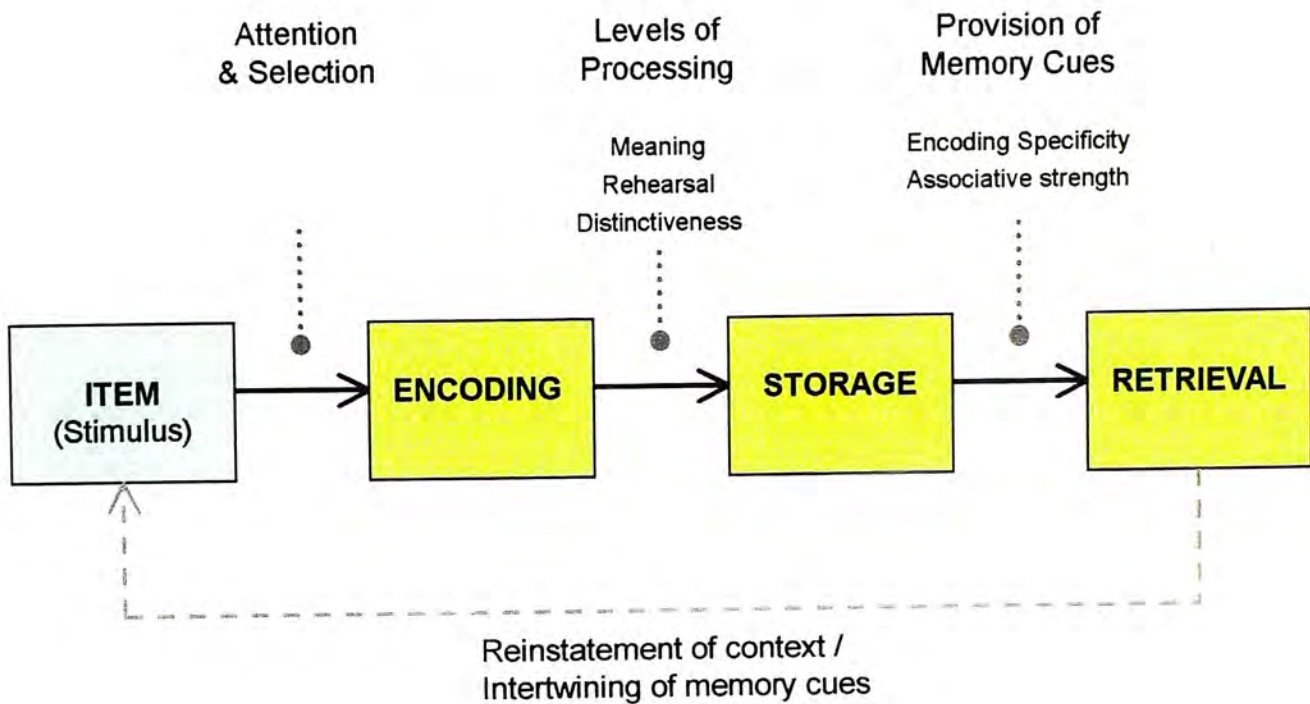
The Encoding specificity approach, proposed by Endel Tulving, asserts that a cue will be effective if it is specifically encoded with the item. Retrieval is easier when the cues presented during encoding are also present during retrieval.

2. Associative strength approach

The Associative strength approach asserts that a cue will be effective if it has a strong association with the item.⁴⁶ The associative strength of the memory cue depends on how frequently it occurred in the past with the item.

To apply this to urban study, the effective memory cues in the city are those fragments or representational forms that are specifically encoded in the city's distinctiveness, are highly associated to it and or frequently occur within the city's history. This definition will be applied in Chapter Three when we analyze the effective memory cues in Guangdong cities.

⁴⁶ See the spreading activation theory in J. R. Anderson, "A spreading activation theory of memory", *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, 22 (1983): 261-295. This theory viewed memory as a network of interconnected items, hence, memory cues with higher associative strength would be more likely to associate with a "correct" answer in the memory system because of its proximity to the original item.

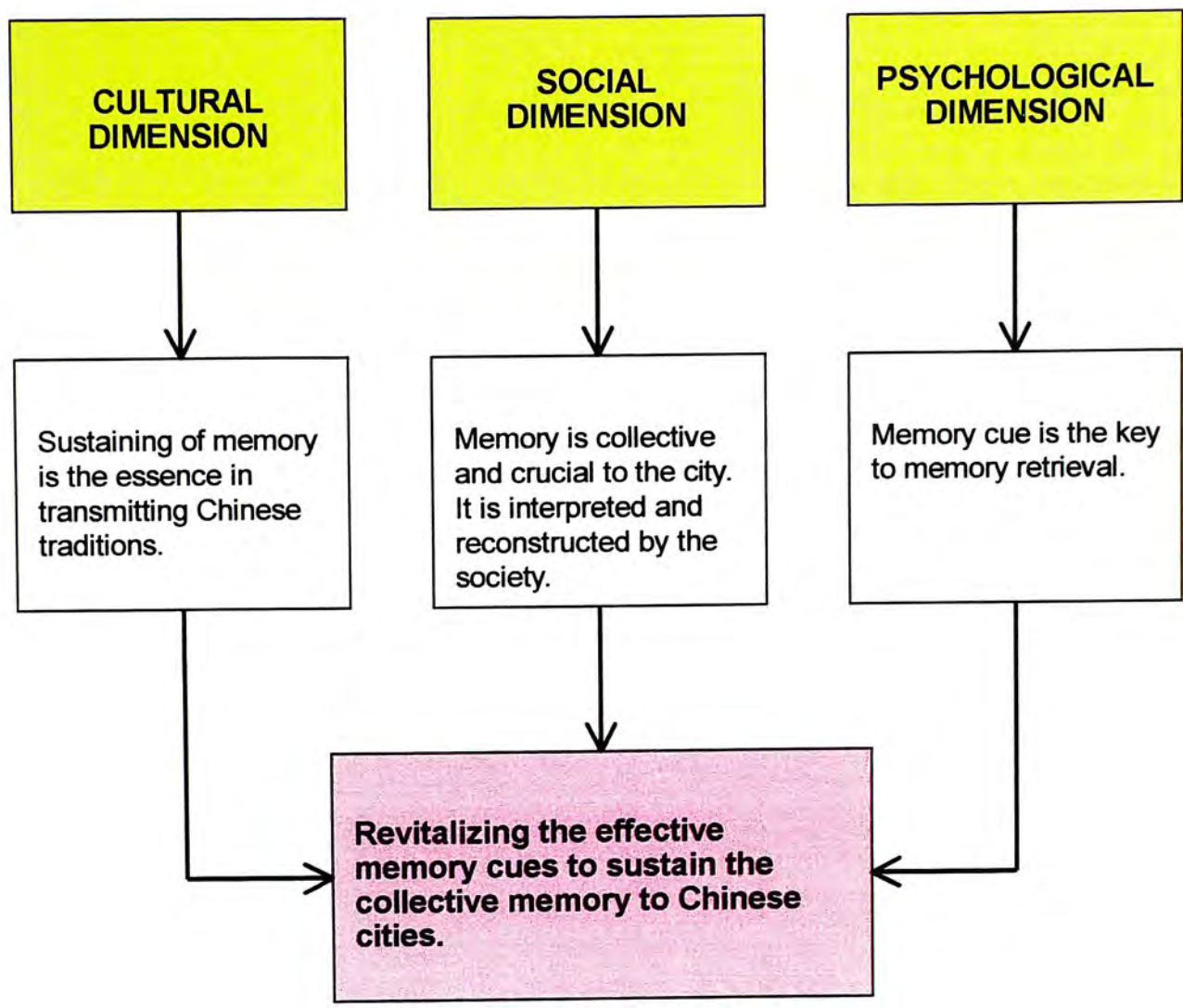


(Fig.1.12) Summary diagram on the memory process.

SUMMARY

In Chapter One we have concluded the following (Fig. 1.13):

- Sustaining the city's collective memory is the essence in transmitting Chinese cultural and traditions;
- Memory retrieval is a crucial process to sustain the city's collective memory;
- The provision of effective memory cues is essential to retrieve the city's collective memory.



(Fig. 1.13) Summary diagram on Chapter One.

We have discovered that memory cues have immense importance in sustaining the collective memory to Chinese cities. Therefore, it should be conserved or revitalized to allow the transmission of Chinese culture and traditions. To achieve this, the ultimate task is to ensure its continuous provision in the city. This also implies that effective memory cues will occupy the status as “monuments” in the city that should be protected and revitalized. The concept of “monuments” in Chinese hence requires redefinition.

Identifying the effective memory cues in Guangdong

Based on these conclusions, the effective memory cues in Guangdong cities will be

identified in the next chapter according to:

1. Encoding specificity approach – through analyzing the distinctiveness of Guangdong cities and identifying those elements that can specifically encode their characters;
2. Associative Strength approach – through identifying the elements that are strongly associated with the city and are able to be sustained through its history.

Two dimensions of analysis will be conducted in order to discover the effective memory cues. In the vertical dimension, the evolution of the Guangdong cities will be studied. In the horizontal dimension, a cross-comparison of the design of Guangdong cities will be conducted.

CHAPTER TWO: EFFECTIVE TANGIBLE CUES IN GUANGDONG CITIES

The cultural, social and psychological dimension of collective memory give us a hint to the answer of the question “Why conserve”, the conservation of effective memory cues in the city is the key to the sustaining of collective memory. If that is true, then what are those effective memory cues in Guangdong cities? What are those elements that are specifically encoded, and strongly associated with the distinctiveness of Guangdong?

Based on the Encoding Specificity and the Associative Strength approaches, the landscape setting and places in cities are not only the two major distinctiveness of Guangdong, but also the tangible cues that could be effective in retrieving the collective memory to the province. Through the study of Guangdong in three levels – the regional level, the city level and the architectural level – we will become aware of how landscape and place are interconnected in its cities.

2.1 REGIONAL LEVEL STUDY: A REGION DEVELOPED WITH THE LANDSCAPE

In Chinese people’s collective memory Guangdong has vivid image: it is a wealthy but isolated region with a strong water-related culture. What elements have contributed to create such an image? It is created by the geographical setting and the socio-economic development of the province. These two factors have always reinforced each other throughout Guangdong’s history.

Geography of Guangdong

Guangdong's regional characters are nurtured by its characteristic landscape setting: it is the southern frontier isolated from much of the mainland to the north by its mountain ranges that face the ocean and are drained by river systems (Fig. 2.11). The old name of Guangdong, Lingnam 嶺南, which means "south of the mountain ranges", characterizes the region's geographical location (Fig. 2.12). The Nanling Mountain Range 南嶺山脈 separates Guangdong from the rest of China. From north to south across the province the altitudes of landforms decrease. The mountainous area covers most of the province, leaving only a relatively small area of flatland.⁴⁷ The geographically isolated province has developed its own culture distinct. In earlier historic periods such cultural differences have contributed to a view held by many Han Chinese that Guangdong is a "barbaric" frontier.⁴⁸

The Cantonese have developed a strong water-related culture because of the region's coastal location and its massive river network. A large part of the province is opened up to the South China Sea 南中國海 and has the longest coastline among all the provinces of China (Fig. 2.13).⁴⁹ The coastal location has enabled Guangdong

⁴⁷ 62 percent of the land in Guangdong is mountain terrain, while 13 percent are undulating hills and 25 percent are flatlands. The highest mountain in the region is the Shi Keng Kong Peak, 1922 meters above sea level.

Data quoted from Chan Kwai Cheong, "Agriculture and Forestry", in *Guangdong: Survey of a Province Undergoing Rapid Change*, Y. M. Yeung and David K. Y. Chu ed. (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1998), 88.

⁴⁸ The mainland Han Chinese considered Guangdong as an uncivilized frontier. As shown by historic textual records, some Cantonese customs were deemed barbaric. For example:

"The Cantonese believe in the spirits and worship them in their ancestral temples." 粵人俗鬼，而其祠皆見鬼，數有效。

(*Han Shu: Jiao Si Zhi* 漢書·郊祀志)

"Skin was in tattoo and hairs were cut".

紋身斷髮。

(*Shi Ji: Zhou Ben Ji* 史記·周本紀)

"The Yue people use the snake as the dish of honor."

越人得髯蛇以爲上肴。

(*Huai Nan Zi: Jing Shen Xun* 淮南子·精神訓)

⁴⁹ Guangdong has a coastline of 3,368 kilometers, the longest of all provinces and accounts for 10.52

to develop prosperous maritime trade and overseas oceanic transportation routes. At present, Guangzhou, Zhanjiang and Shantou are Guangdong's major ports.

Guangdong has the second largest river in China in terms of water discharge. The three tributaries of the Pearl River 珠江 - the Dong River 東江, the Bei River 北江 and the Xi River 西江, drain most parts of the province. Other rivers supplement the remaining areas in Guangdong.⁵⁰ The rivers and their tributaries have penetrated most part of Guangdong and have created a massive and intricate river network, in which totally over 90 percent of Guangdong's cities can be reached by river transport. The massive river networks have also created three major deltaic plains in the region: the Han River Delta 韓江三角洲 in the east; the Pearl River Delta 珠江三角洲 in the center; and the Leizhou Peninsula 雷洲半島 in the south. These three areas are where the population, capital and development are largely concentrated.

Today Guangdong has a total area of 178,000 square kilometers, and as of 1995 its population reached 68.68 million.⁵¹ The promising geographic location and characteristic landscape setting of Guangdong have contributed greatly to its socio-economic development. With such natural-born advantages, Guangdong historically has often been a pioneer in China's development.

percent of China's total. It also has many estuaries and more than 651 offshore islets. See *Guangdong: survey of a province undergoing rapid change*, ed Y. M. Yeung and David K.Y. Chu. (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1998).

⁵⁰ The Han River drains many of the mountainous area of northeast Guangdong, while smaller rivers such as To River and Lien River drain the northereastern coastal plains. To the southwest numerous shorter streams drain the Leizhou Peninsula.

⁵¹ The area of Guangdong accounts for 1.9 percent of the total area in China, and its population represents 5.67 percent of China's total.

Socio-economic development of Guangdong

Guangdong today is the most southern of the China's twenty-two provinces and five autonomous regions.⁵² In the province there are now seventy-five counties (xian 縣) which are administratively under twenty-one municipalities (shi 市). Guangdong has two national-level and eleven provincial-level "Historic and cultural cities 歷史文化名城".⁵³ In early historic periods the native Yue people inhabited in this geographically isolated region at that time. Until 224 B.C., when the Qin Empire united China and conquered the southern region, Guangdong was first put under the sovereignty of the mainland empire to the north. This started the initial contact between Guangdong and the rest of the mainland.⁵⁴

In the Tang Dynasty (618 – 907 A.D.) Guangdong's link with the mainland was greatly improved.⁵⁵ With its predominant coastal location, the provincial capital Guangzhou became the major trading port of China. To facilitate prosperous commercial activities, the city adapted an open planning system pioneered in the country.⁵⁶ The Tang government even demarcated specific activity area "Fan Fang

⁵² This is true, with the exception of Hainan Island, which was originally under the administration of Guangdong Province. In 1988, it was separated from Guangdong to become a new province and a Special Economic Zone.

⁵³ The six national-level "Historic and cultural cities" are Guangzhou 廣州, Chaozhou 潮州, Zhaoqing 肇慶, Leizhou 雷州, Meizhou 梅州 and Foshan 佛山; while the provincial-level "Historic and cultural cities" are Huizhou 惠州, Dongguan 東莞, Jieyang 揭陽, Haifeng 海豐, Luoding 羅定, Pinghai 平海 and Tuocheng 陀城.

⁵⁴ During the Qin Dynasty the contacts between the native Yue people 越族 and the mainland Han Chinese were very limited, for the Han Chinese viewed the southern region as an uncivilized frontier. It was only a place where the Qin Empire exiled disgraced officials. However, after the fall of the Qin Dynasty, the country was disintegrated into numerous kingdoms. In this long disunion period (202 -589 A.D.), large numbers of Han Chinese were migrated to the south, a relatively peaceful region during warfare. This began the development of the region. 簡明廣東史，蔣祖緣，方志欽主編，嶺南文庫編輯委員會，廣東中華民族文化促進會合編。廣州：廣東人民出版社，1993。

⁵⁵ In the Tang Dynasty (716 A.D.), the linkage between Guangdong and the mainland was greatly improved by the construction of a new pass through the Dagengling Mountain Range 大庾嶺. The new link facilitated the movement of both goods and people between Guangdong and the north.

⁵⁶ Cities in the Tang Dynasty had to follow a stringent planning system. The city was divided into

藩坊” in the city for foreign merchants.⁵⁷

Urban development in Guangdong first reached its peak in the Song Dynasty (960 – 1279 A.D.). Due to the warfare in northern China, the Song Empire had shifted its development to the south.⁵⁸ This brought in huge migration to the relatively peaceful region Guangdong. The stable political environment greatly enhanced its economic development. Guangzhou had become the largest trading port in China, and was the stronghold of the country’s major shipping lane.⁵⁹ The increased population and flourishing of the economy resulted in tremendous urban

numerous “Fang 藩”, the wards. They were residential precincts where commercial activities were strictly prohibited. Instead, all shops were grouped in “Shi 市”, the market area. The market was under close supervision, such that commercial activities were allowed at daytime only. The Tang capital Changan was an outstanding example of this planning system.

However, this closed planning system greatly discouraged economic development of the city. Therefore, during the late Tang period the stringent control was eventually weakened. Guangzhou was one of the pioneering cities that reflected this change. The government allowed shops to open onto the streets instead of in enclosed markets. It also widened the streets and designated specific activity area to facilitate commercial activities. See also note 11.

陳澤泓，*嶺南建築志*（廣州：廣東省人民出版社，1999）。

廣東對外經濟貿易史，徐德志、黃達璋、梁郁榮、成有江編（廣州：廣東人民出版社，1994）。

⁵⁷ In the Tang Dynasty, foreign merchants at Guangdong usually came from Arabia.

“Fan 藩” in Chinese means the “foreigner”, while “Fang 坊” means the “ward”. “Fan Fang 藩坊”, therefore, means the foreigners’ ward. In Imperial China, the government usually confined the foreigners’ activities in specific areas in the city. They were not allowed to live or conduct commercial activities outside these areas. These designated areas were also called “Fan Qu 藩區”, the foreigners’ district.

廣東經濟地理，吳郁文著。

廣東對外經濟貿易史，徐德志、黃達璋、梁郁榮、成有江編。

⁵⁸ In 1126 A.D., under the severe attack by the Jin army, the Song Empire no longer withheld the capital Bianjing (the present Heifeng). The Jin Empire conquered the north of the River Huanghe 黃河. The defeated Song Empire, instead, reconstructed their capital at Linan (the present Hangzhou). Since that time, the political and economic center eventually shifted to southern China. Many migrated to Guangdong to escape warfare in the north.

簡明廣東史，蔣祖緣，方志欽主編。

⁵⁹ During the Song Dynasty there were four shipping lanes in China: from Guangzhou to Vietnam and Indonesia; from Mingzhou 明州 and Hangzhou 杭州 to Japan and Korea; from Mizhou to coastal cities in China; from Quanzhou to Arabia and all countries in the South China Sea. In 971 A.D. the Song Empire set up the first custom “Shi Bo Si 市舶司” in Guangzhou to supervise maritime trade, inspect imported goods and collect tax. Later three more customs were set up at Quanzhou 泉州, Hangzhou 杭州 and Mingzhou 明州. But Guangzhou remained the largest one until the end of Song Dynasty.

廣東對外經濟貿易史，徐德志、黃達璋、梁郁榮、成有江編。

growth in Guangdong cities. Active urban constructions occurred. Walled cities were usually constructed only for administrative functions, while commercial districts were usually developed outside the walled area.⁶⁰

However, Guangdong's active economic development was disrupted when the province no longer enjoyed the advantages given by its geographic location and landscape setting. This is shown by the only two maritime bans ever imposed in Guangdong's history, which tragically affected the province's economy. The first one was enforced in the early Ming Dynasty when the Ming government confined maritime activities to official levels only.⁶¹ This hardly stopped the Cantonese from engaging in the profit-making maritime trade. They ignored the ban and traded with foreign merchants illegally. However, those bankrupted fishermen and merchants affected by the ban turned to pirates and bandits which threatened the cities' security. To protect the city against their plunder, many Guangdong cities extended their city wall to enclose the developments beyond the original walled area. For better defense, they also replaced the earth-wall with brick, constructed supervision towers on top of it and excavated a moat around the city.

The second maritime ban was imposed in the early Qing Dynasty.⁶² In 1656

⁶⁰ Ibid. In the Song Dynasty, Guangdong cities undergone two major changes. Firstly, developments in Guangdong used to concentrate at the central and western area. However, the distribution was altered during the Song Dynasty. Many new cities were constructed in eastern and northern Guangdong. Secondly, it broke the long practice of enclosing the urban areas inside the city wall. The walled cities in Guangdong during the Song Dynasty mainly served military and administrative purposes, whereas commercial and residential areas were developed outside the walled area. Therefore, the walled area usually remained small in scale, while the urban area outside the wall could be very large. This reflected the prosperity of the commercial activities in Guangdong.

⁶¹ Ibid. The common people were not allowed to navigate and trade with foreign merchants. The government strictly controlled overseas contacts. Only tributes from foreign countries could trade with China under the close supervision of the customs.

⁶² Ibid. The maritime ban was applied to coastal regions including Guangdong 廣州, Fujing 福建, Jiangnan 江門, Zhejiang 浙江, Tianjing 天津 and Shandong 山東. It restricted both the departure of local merchant ships and the arrival of foreign ones.

A.D. the Qing government prohibited all maritime activities to eliminate possible supplies to the remaining Ming army that seized the southern island of Taiwan.⁶³

The restriction was further tightened by the removal orders that forced the Cantonese who inhabited the coast to migrate inland.⁶⁴ This dramatically suppressed Guangdong's well-developed foreign trade. However, after Emperor Kangxi 康熙 lifted the ban and the removal order in 1684 A.D., the region's maritime activities immediately flourished again. He appointed Guangzhou as one of the four ports open for foreign trade.⁶⁵ The provincial capital's importance was further heightened by the single port policy applied in 1757 A.D., which made it China's sole trading port for about one hundred years.⁶⁶ Local trading agents and facilities for foreign merchants emerged in the city.⁶⁷ Beginning then, Guangdong became an immensely prosperous region for foreign trade in China.

The early exposure to the outside world nurtured Guangdong into a fertile ground for both political and economic reforms.⁶⁸ In the seventh year of the

⁶³ The army was headed by the Ming general Zhen Chenggong 陳炯明. They seized Taiwan and relied on the coastal regions to supply them with food, daily goods and military support. 簡明廣東史，蔣祖緣，方志欽主編。

⁶⁴ In 1662 A.D the removal order was first enforced in Guangdong. No one was allowed to enter the area measured 50 miles from the coast. Houses within this area were all demolished, farmlands were left abandoned and fishing was prohibited. In 1664 A.D., the government again forced the Cantonese to migrate 30 miles further. In these two mass removals, over 28 counties and millions of people in Guangdong were affected. 廣東對外經濟貿易史，徐德志、黃達璋、梁郁榮、成有江編。

⁶⁵ Ibid. After Emperor Kangxi 康熙 lifted the maritime ban, foreign trading was only limited to Guangzhou 廣州, Xiamen 廈門, Ningbo 寧波 and Shanghai 上海. Customs were set up in these four cities to supervise all maritime trade and collect tax.

⁶⁶ Ibid. Emperor Qianlong closed the ports at Xiamen, Ningbo and Shanghai, and left Guangzhou as the only port in China for foreign trade.

⁶⁷ Ibid. In order to limit the contacts between the locals and the foreigners, only authorized agents were allowed to trade with foreign merchants. These agents were commonly known as "Shi San Hong". Foreign merchants were restricted in specific areas at the western district and the Shamian Island. The agents built guildhalls called "Yi Guan 夷館" or "Hui Guan 會館" in the areas for the foreign merchants to dwell, to trade and to store goods.

⁶⁸ Guangdong nurtured many political and cultural leaders, including Dr. Sun Yatsen 孫中山 (1866-

Mingguo Period (1918), Dr. Sun Yatsen 孫中山 proposed the development strategy “Jian Guo Fang Lue 建國方略” for the new republic.⁶⁹ Followed his strategy the Mingguo government demolished the city wall and gates in Guangzhou in 1919 to facilitate urban growth (Fig. 2.14).⁷⁰ During the 1920s and 1930s, many Guangdong cities followed Guangzhou and made enormous changes in their urban landscape – the demolition of the city wall enhanced the expansion of urban areas, the construction of new roads promoted vehicular traffic, and the building of what are sometimes called verandah houses changed the outlook of the city.

After the establishment of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, Guangdong again occupied a significant role in the country’s economic reform.⁷¹ Beginning in 1978, Guangdong’s coastal location helped it again be the pioneer in demonstrating China’s more open economic policy.⁷² By establishing three Special Economic Zones (SEZ) 經濟特區 in Shenzhen 深圳, Zhuhai 珠海 and Shantou 汕頭 during the 1980s, the province permitted “special policies and flexible measures”

1925). In 1912 Dr Sun Yatsen and his followers (mainly from Guangdong) launched the Republican revolution that succeeded in overthrowing the Qing Empire. The Cantonese and overseas Chinese provided most of the manpower and financial support to the movement led by him.
簡明廣東史，蔣祖緣，方志欽主編。

⁶⁹ Dr Sun Yatsen proposed to develop Guangzhou into an international trading port. He suggested demolishing the city wall and expanding the urban area to Huangbo in the east and Foshan in the west. 陳澤泓，嶺南建築志。

⁷⁰ The Mingguo government demolished most of the city wall and 15 city gates. Only a small portion of the wall, at presently Yuexiu Park 越秀公園, was kept. Over 500 houses attached to the wall were demolished for the construction of new roads.

⁷¹ After Guangdong was liberated in 1949, it enjoyed a very short period of rapid economic growth under the People’s Republic’s First Five-year Plan (1953-1957). However, in the 1960s the speed of growth gradually declined when the negative effective of China’s planned economy became visible. The unstable political atmosphere in China during the Cultural Revolution (1966 – 1976) further exaggerated its economic recession. The economic setback in Guangdong was recovered since 1979, when China adopted the open policy.

See Ezra F. Vogel, *One Step Ahead in China: Guangdong under Reform* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989).

⁷² Ibid. In December 1978, the Third Plenum of the Party’s Eleventh Central Committee decided to allow Guangdong to pursue economic reforms and adopt an open policy.

in its economic development. The economic reform in Guangdong has been a national experiment aimed to bring China out of its previously socialist economy. As Ezra Vogel has aptly put it, Guangdong's attempt at modernization and development is merely one step ahead in China.⁷³ Since the reform, the province has experienced unprecedented economic growth.⁷⁴

Another breakthrough of Guangdong economic development came in 1985, when the central government designated the Pearl River Delta region as an open economic area.⁷⁵ It granted the area greater autonomy to approve foreign investments, and entitled foreign investors with tax preferences. Therefore, it attracted both domestic and foreign capital, notably from Hong Kong. Between 1979 and 1991, the Pearl River Delta region developed at a much faster rate than the rest of the province. In January 1992, Deng Xiaoping 鄧小平 toured Guangdong and stirred up another wave of economic reform when he called on the province to become in twenty years, another Little Dragon of Asia. This guaranteed Guangdong's profound status in China's market-oriented reform.

Over the past two millennia, Guangdong has changed dramatically from a barbaric frontier to the nation's "Southern Gate" and its "window" to the world. Its social and economic growth owe a great deal to its promising geographic location

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid. During the period 1979-1984, the province's economic growth rates were ahead of the nation, except in exports, agriculture and revenue.

⁷⁵ In 1985, the Pearl River Delta Open Economic Area covered four municipalities: Jiangmen 江門, Zhongshan 中山, Dongguan 東莞 and Foshan 佛山. It has a total area of 22,800 square kilometers and is generally referred to as the "Small Delta 小珠江三角洲". And in 1987, with the State Council's consent, the boundary of the economic area was further enlarged to incorporate three more municipalities: Huizhou, Qingyuan and Xiaoqing. This is generally referred to as the "Big Delta 大珠江三角洲". It has an area of 42,600 square kilometers that accounts for roughly twenty-seven percent of Guangdong's total land area. It has a population of 20.8 millions that accounts to about one-third of the province's total.

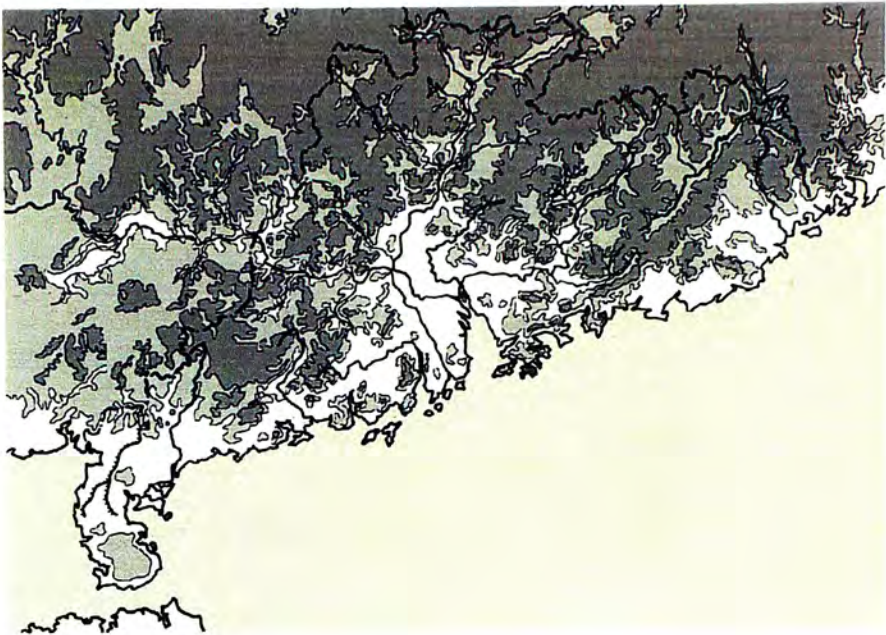
See Roger C. K. Chan, "The Pearl River Delta Region", in *Development in Southern China: A Report on The Pearl River Delta Region including The Special Economic Zones* (Hong Kong: Longman Asian Limited, 1995), 1.

and sophisticated riverine and coastal navigation system. With such advantages, trade and commerce have grown and transformed the region's traditional economy into a multifaceted one. The landscape setting has not only influencing the province's socio-economic development, but, it has also greatly shaped the physical form of Guangdong cities.

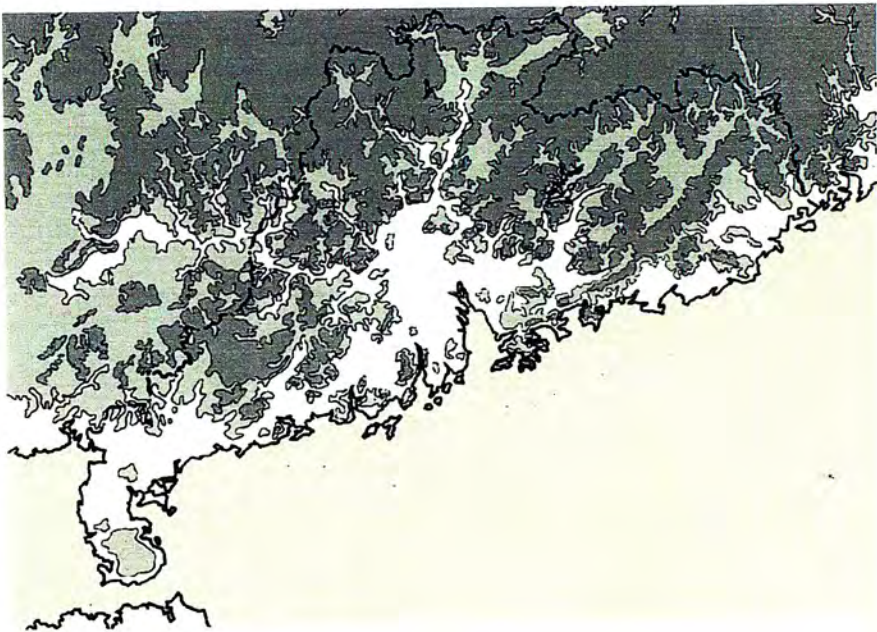
Timeline		Major urban developments of Guangdong
Qin	224 B.C.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guangdong was conquered by the Qin Empire and was first ruled by the mainland Chinese.
Tang	618-907 A.D.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guangzhou as the major trading port in China. Guangzhou adapted an open planning system pioneered in China. Fan Fang was demarcated in Guangzhou for foreign merchants.
Song	960-1279	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Huge migration influx to Guangdong to escape from warfare. Active construction of walled cities in Guangdong. The walled cities served mainly administrative functions, while commercial districts developed outside the walled area. Guangzhou became the largest trading port in China and administered the major shipping lane.
Ming	1368-1644	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First maritime ban imposed to confine maritime activities to official levels only. Active city expansions to enhance urban growth and better defense.
Qing	1656	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Second maritime ban imposed to prohibit all maritime activities.
	1662	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> First removal orders imposed to force coastal residents to migrate to inland area 50 miles from the coast.
	1664	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Second removal order imposed to force the further move all settlements 30 miles further inland from the last removal.
	1684	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The maritime ban and removal orders cancelled. Guangzhou became one of the four ports open for foreign trade.
	1757	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The single port policy turned Guangzhou as the sole port in China opened for foreign trade.
Minguo	1920s-1930s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The proposal of “Jian Guo Fang Lue” led to the demolition of city walls in many Guangdong cities.
PRC	1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Guangdong as a pioneer in pursuing economic reforms and adopting open policy.
	1980s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The establishment of Special Economic Zones.
	1985	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The establishment of the Pearl River Delta Open Economic Area.
	1992	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deng Xiaoping toured Guangdong and led to further economic reform and opening.

(Table 2.1) Summary of the socio-economic developments of Guangdong.

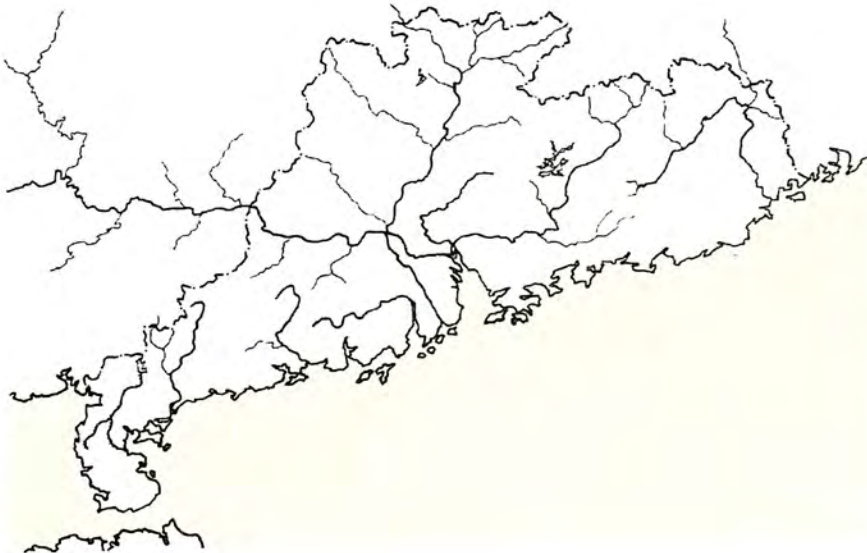
(Fig. 2.11) The characteristic geographical setting of Guangdong: it is isolated from the mainland by the mountain ranges, facing the ocean and drained tremendously by the river system.

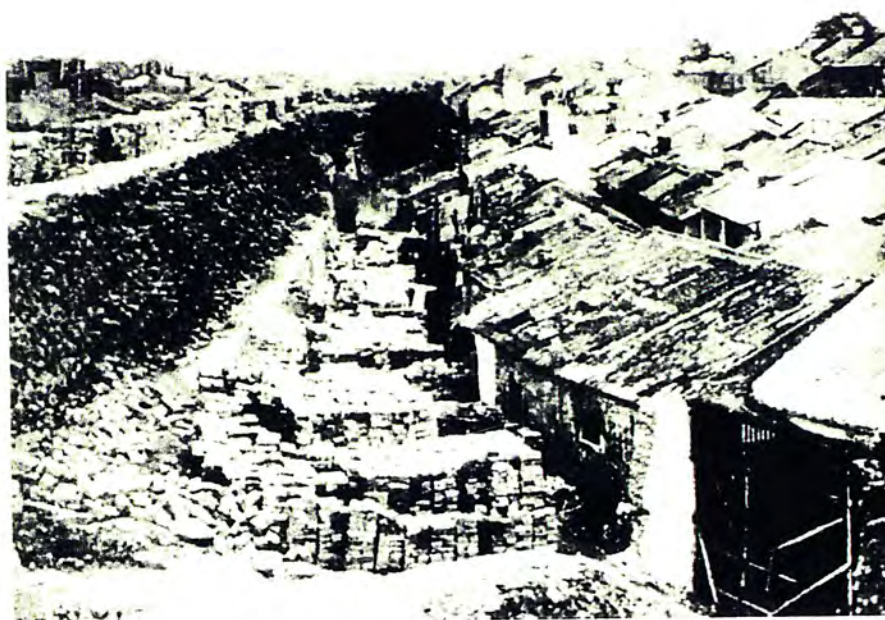


(Fig. 2.12) The mountain ranges in Guangdong Province.



(Fig. 2.13) The extensive river network system in Guangdong Province.





(Fig. 2.14) In 1919, the demolition of the city wall and gates in Guangzhou aimed to facilitate urban growth.

2.2 CITY LEVEL STUDY: THE LANDSCAPE AS REFERENCE FOR PLANNING

Unlike many European and American cities that grow spontaneously for commercial and religious reasons, cities in Imperial China were mainly constructed for bureaucratic reasons.⁷⁶ The Chinese city was one of the manifold legs propping up the empire: it provided a steady flow of taxes and services to the court, as well as ensured peace and security in the local area that made this largesse possible.⁷⁷ Each of them was inextricably linked to other urban units higher or lower in the administrative hierarchy. Because of the above, defensibility and accessibility were two major concerns in planning the city. In Guangdong, it has been the province's characteristic landscape setting that has provided its cities with high defensibility and easy accessibility.

Landscape, “Xingsheng 形勝” or “Shanshui 山水” in Chinese, has two kinds of meanings. When landscape is described as Xingsheng, it denotes the natural geographical setting; whereas when landscape is described as Shan Shui, it denotes the natural elements like mountains and water. Whether described as Xingsheng or Shanshui, the two interpretations of landscape are all powerful in retrieving the collective memory to the Guangdong cities. However, they affected different dimensions. In the city planning terms, the landscape as Xingsheng – the natural geographical setting – has exerted tremendous influence in shaping the design of Guangdong cities. It is the underlying force that governs the city's planning.

⁷⁶ The ancient classic *Huai Nan Zi* 淮南子 describes that the first city in China was constructed to protect the emperor. This shows that Chinese cities were built mainly for defensive and bureaucratic reasons.

⁷⁷ Ronald Knapp, *The Chinese Walled Cities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 7.

The networking of cities

In the late imperial period, Guangdong was divided into many prefectures, and each of them was administered under a prefectural capital.⁷⁸ However, how were these capitals located and distributed in the region? What is their inter-relationship? In fact, the locations of the eight prefectural capitals in Guangdong were planned for administrative and military reasons, which is closely tied to the landscape setting of the province.

Except for Guangzhou 廣州 and Leizhou 雷州, all these prefectural capitals guard the gateway to major mountainous routes planned along the river valleys (Fig. 2.15). Since the Qin Dynasty, these mountainous routes have been the major linkages between Guangdong and the mainland.⁷⁹ As they have had immense military importance to the province, the prefectural capitals are located at the mouths to the river valleys – sites that overlooked the entry to the mountainous routes. Most of them are located at the lowland area, except for Nanxiong 南雄 and Shaozhou 韶州 (present Shaoguan 韶關) which are located at the upland. Nevertheless, they are highly critical to the defense of the province, for they guard the gate Meiguan that leads to the most important route in Guangdong - the Dagengling Pass (Fig. 2.16).

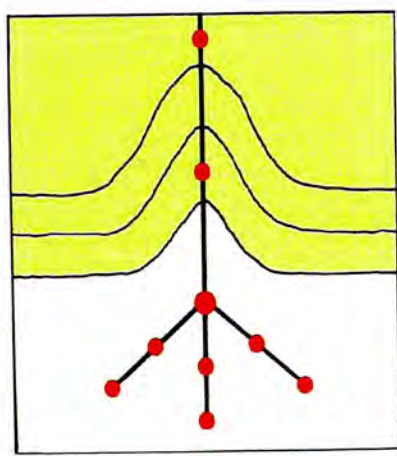
Although Guangzhou and Leizhou are not guarding mountainous routes, they are also strategically located in the region. Guangzhou, being the provincial capital, is located at the center of the province and its largest plain – the Pearl River Delta; while Leizhou is located at the center of another major plain - the Leizhou Peninsula

⁷⁸ In the late imperial period, Guangdong Province was divided into ten prefectures 府. However, after the fall of the imperial era, the boundary of the province amended many times. The old Lianzhou 廉州府 and Qiangzhou Prefecture 瓊州府 now fall into the present Guangxi and Hainan Province respectively, which are beyond the discussion of this thesis.

⁷⁹ These mountainous routes were also where the Qin army entered Guangdong and conquered the southern region.

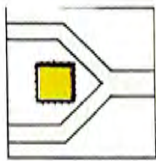
雷州半島. The central location of these two cities enables them to have the best administrative and military control over other parts of the region.

Each of these imperial prefectural capitals had its own hinterland and jurisdiction over a certain number of county seats (Fig. 2.17). They are distributed in a chained format and are linked up by extensive river networks (Fig. 2.18). The chained format has the following pattern:

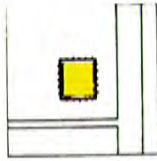


1. The river forms the chain that link up the cities;
2. The prefectural capital guards the gateway to the mountainous route,
3. The county seats are located at either the river valley and the plain;
4. The county seats in the plain radiate from the prefectural capital;
5. The county seats are located at intervals along the chain, with longer intervals between them in the mountainous area and shorter interval in the plain.

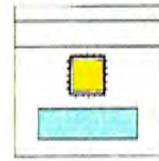
The landscape provides a reference for the distribution and location of the Guangdong cities. The cities are so located to fit in to the natural landscape, and the Cantonese utilize the characteristic landscape setting to benefit the cities' defensive power and accessibility, thereby also enhancing its economic situation.



**Confluence of
Two Rivers**



**Aside River &
Tributary**



**Between River &
Group of Water
Bodies**



Jieyang



Shaozhou



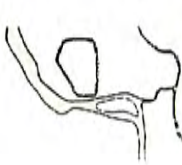
Huizhou



Foshan



Guangzhou



Gaozhou



Huizhou



Tuocheng



Haifeng



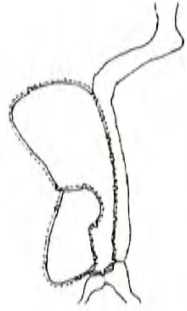
Pinghai



Dongguan



Meizhou



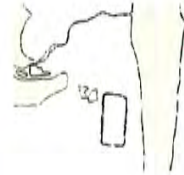
Nanxiong



Leizhou



Chaozhou



Zhaoqing



Huizhou



Luoding



Leizhou

(Plate 1) Siting of Guangdong Cities.

The siting of city

Most Guangdong cities are sited at the same locations throughout history. The provincial capital Guangzhou, for example, was destroyed many times in different historic periods due to warfare. However, the Cantonese repeatedly rebuilt it nearly at the same site along the Pearl River, although no official doctrine has explained such preference (Fig. 2.19). Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt believes that the site's past history of imperialism has conferred both legitimacy and an aura of rule.⁸⁰ And pragmatically, the site's already-established defensibility and natural frameworks are advantages that keep the city on existing location.⁸¹ Therefore, Guangdong cities all remain at their original sites with the presence of natural features providing the cities with abundant water supplies and broad accessibility. This is not just true for Guangzhou, but for almost all Guangdong cities which are located along rivers. In this case, is there any particular riverbank or riverine sites more preferable for the construction of the city?

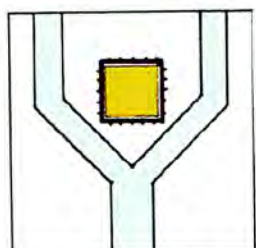
Despite form factors which affect the riverine city's siting preference on a particular riverbank, the siting study of sixteen Guangdong cities shows no particular preference for a specific riverbank.⁸² This is contradictory to the fact that Chinese cities sited on the north bank of a river far out-number those sited on other banks.

⁸⁰ Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1990), 26.

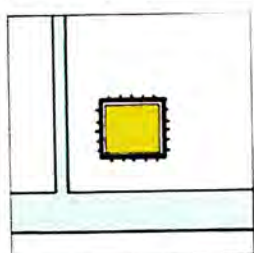
⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Four factors generalized by Chang Sendou which affect riverine city's siting preference: First, it depends on the direction from which local products entered the river traffic. Second, it depends on the more productive basin land located at which side of the river. Two additional factors noted by him had favored the siting on the north bank. One factor related to history was that direction of Chinese migration had been predominantly southward. Therefore, land to the north would have been developed first by Chinese colonists, and the river could also provided a defensive barrier against the hostile or unfamiliar people farther south. Another factor was the fact that sites on valley slopes facing south afforded more sunshine and better air circulation than sites on slopes facing north. This was particularly important to the cities at northern China. Chang Sendou, "The Morphology of Walled Capitals", in *The City in Late Imperial China*, ed. G. William Skinner (Stanford: Stanford University Press), 86-87.

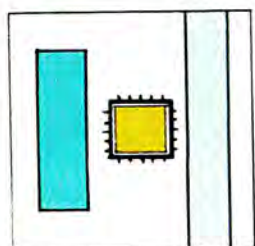
The siting study, instead, reveals one thing common to all the sixteen Guangdong cities: they are embraced by two water bodies respectively. Three cases can be found:



1. The city is sited at the confluence of two rivers;



2. The city is sited aside the river and its tributary;

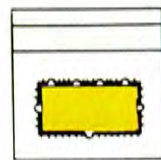


3. The city is sited between the river and a group of water bodies.

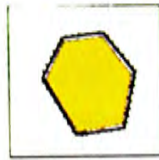
The defensibility and accessibility of the city - the two major concerns in Chinese city planning were complementary - when the city was embraced by two water bodies. Even if the city did not possess such a setting by nature, the Cantonese have constructed artificial water bodies to fulfil the ideal condition, such as those in Chaozhou 潮州, Huizhou 惠州 and Leizhou 雷州 (Fig. 2.20).⁸³

⁸³ In Chaozhou, Huizhou and Leizhou, a lake was constructed west of the city. All three lakes are named as the West Lake, Xihu 西湖. The same naming may due to the Cantonese's memory and admiration to the famous West Lake at Hangzhou 杭州 - a picturesque lake that was also artificially constructed.

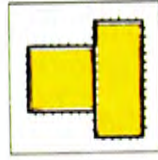
See Chapter Four on the detailed study of the West Lake at Huizhou.



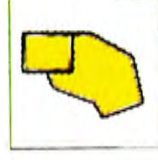
Orthogonal



Irregular



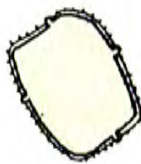
Orthogonal Extension



Irregular Extension



Irregular Form resulted from Extension



Haifeng



Shaozhou



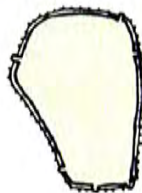
Tuocheng



Chaozhou



Chaozhou



Gaozhou



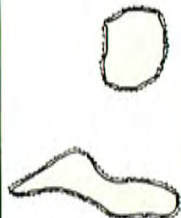
Luoding



Leizhou



Guangzhou



Huizhou



Zhaoqing



Jieyang



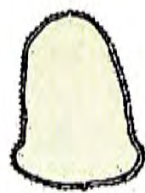
Nanxiong



Meizhou



Dongguan



Pinghai



Foshan

(Plate 2) Form of Guangdong Cities.

The city form

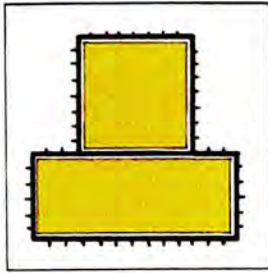
Since most Guangdong cities are embraced by two water bodies, they are inevitably affected by the flow of water. Ronald Knapp finds that as topography becomes much more irregular to the south of the River Huanghe, city shapes also increasingly deviate from rectilinearity.⁸⁴ His analysis, if applied to Guangdong, is only partially correct – it depends on what period he is indicating and the size of the city. In the Song Dynasty, the forms of the Guangdong cities were not particularly influenced by the province's irregular flow of the rivers. The walled cities at that time were usually small in size, since they only served administrative functions.⁸⁵ They therefore could remain orthogonal in form, with irregular commercial and residential districts developed outside the walled areas.

However, in the Ming and Qing Dynasties, when they experienced enormous urban growth Guangdong cities began to taste the great influence exerted by the landscape in shaping their physical form. Many cities either expanded or were reconstructed in this period, and their appearance changed tremendously from the old Song format (Fig. 2.21). For small walled cities, they usually remained in orthogonal or oval form, with slight deformations to fit into the surrounding landscape. However, larger walled cities had to conform to the irregularity of the landscape and hence reflected in irregular city forms and wavy city walls.

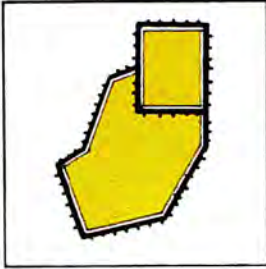
During this peak period of city expansion, new annexes to the cities were sometimes constructed to house the increased population and commercial activities. This resulted in the formation of multiple cities. Three formal patterns of these multiple cities have been noted:

⁸⁴ Ronald Knapp, *Chinese Walled Cities* (Hong Kong: Oxford University Press, 2000), 13.

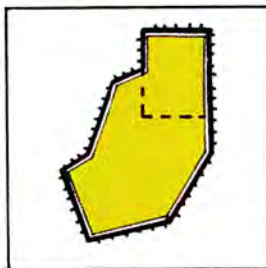
⁸⁵ See note 13.



1. Orthogonal extension - if the area and shape of the land allowed the annex was orthogonal in shape.⁸⁶



2. Irregular extension – the annex was irregular in form in order to fit into its surrounding landscape.

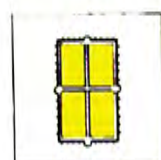


3. Irregular form resulted from extension - the old city was originally orthogonal in form; however, the old city wall was demolished once after the city expanded. This resulted in a completely new city, irregular in form.

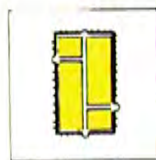
Curiously, even though many Guangdong cities in the late imperial period were irregular in form, in the official maps they sometimes appeared orthogonal (Fig. 2.22). This phenomenon is frequently noticed in the historic maps of Chinese cities: the city's actual scheme may be considered irrelevant to the historical record. Steinhardt believes that these official maps were amended so that the city would appear perfect for posterity, because the ideal Chinese city was supposed to be geometrically perfect.⁸⁷ This suggests that although the Chinese have a desire to follow the orthodox planning principle, when conditions are not favorable, they prefer the actual scheme to be beholden to the nature of the landscape setting.

⁸⁶ This pattern is commonly seen in other parts of China when the city expands. Beijing is an outstanding example in this category.

⁸⁷ Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 146-147.



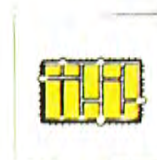
Cross-shaped



T-shaped



Web



Rows



Leizhou



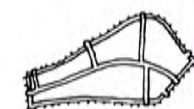
Pinghai



Guangzhou



Huizhou



Shaozhou



Zhaoqing



Meizhou



Haifeng



Luoding



Dongguan



Huizhou



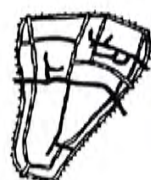
Tuocheng



Nanxiong



Gaozhou



Jieyang

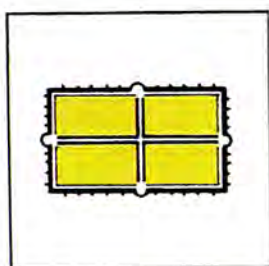


Foshan

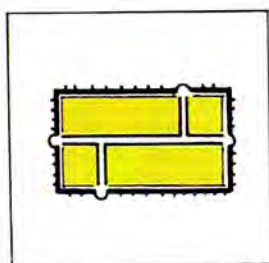
(Plate 3) Urban fabrics of Guangdong Cities.

The city fabric

The fabric of a walled city was mainly determined by two factors: the city form and the location of city gates. Both factors are shaped by the landscape setting in Guangdong's case. Ronald Knapp observed that in most Chinese cities, the south wall often has more and larger gates than other walls.⁸⁸ However, his observation is not applicable in Guangdong cities, where more city gates are opened onto the water's side regardless of its orientation (Fig. 2.23). This implies that water traffic is more significant than land traffic in Guangdong cities. The differences in the location of city gates and the variation in city forms have resulted in four patterns of city fabric:



1. Cross-shaped - This pattern usually exists in orthogonal cities small in size. A major crossroads is planned across the city and connects its four city gates at cardinal directions.

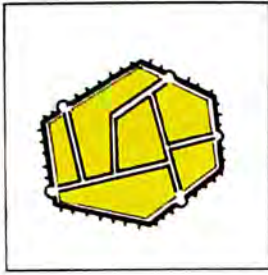


2. T-shaped - A major road is planned across the longer side of the city and connects its two city gates at opposite walls.⁸⁹ Other streets and alleys branch off from this major road.

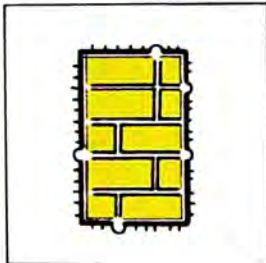
Both the cross-shaped and the T-shaped patterns are commonly seen in Chinese cities. However, the following two patterns are special to Guangdong. It shows how the landscape has shaped the physical fabric of the Guangdong cities.

⁸⁸ Knapp, *Chinese Walled Cities*, 28.

⁸⁹ In most cases, the major road is running east-west across the city, except in Shaozhou 韶州 it is running north-south.



3. Web - This pattern usually goes with the irregular city form. The roads that connect the city gates at different walls of the irregular city weave together and create an intricate web-pattern. The web-pattern may also be due to the presence of water bodies inside the city, such as streams, canals and ponds. The streets submit to these water bodies and therefore result in a sinuous pattern.



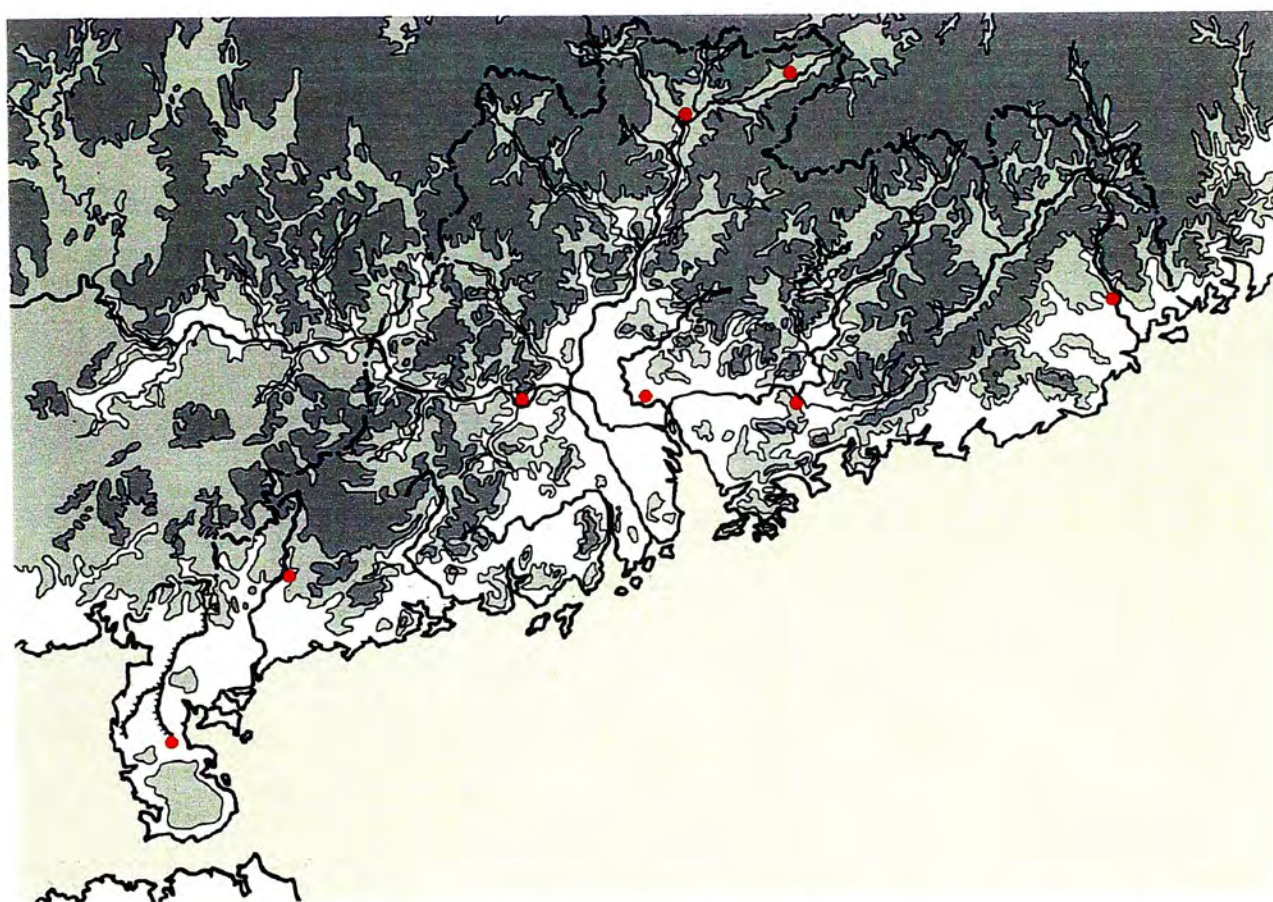
4. Rows - This pattern exists in the narrow cities that are longitudinal in form and located between two water bodies. As most of the city gates are opened on the longer walls facing the water bodies, rows of streets are therefore planned across the narrow city to connect these city gates.

In the city level study, although certain physical characteristics of Guangdong cities have been shown, some questions are still remained unanswered. For example: if all new annexes are constructed at the south of the old cities, then why the one in Chaozhou is constructed at its west? If the city's major roads are usually straight, then why is the one in Zhaoqing tortuous (Fig. 2.24)? If all the major roads are running east-west across the city, then why does it run north-south in Shaozhou? Given similar longitudinal form, why has Shaozhou not developed rows of streets similar to Chaozhou and Huizhou (Fig. 2.25)? All these yet-to-be-answered questions reveal that the planning in Guangdong cities, in fact, vary case-by-case. Nevertheless, one can probably safely assume that the networking, siting, and planning of Guangdong cities are strongly shaped by the province's characteristic landscape setting. At a macroscopic level, the strategic networking of Guangdong cities go along with the region's massive and intricate river system. The cities are sited at the most predominant location well protected by the water bodies. At a

microscopic level, the flow of the water also determined the forms and fabrics of the cities. Instead of rigidly or blindly following stringent orthodox planning principles, the Cantonese intelligently grasped the distinctiveness of the province’s landscape setting and planned their cities in harmony with it.

Urban morphology	Effect of Landscape
Networking	Landscape setting provided reference for the distribution and location of the Guangdong cities: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• major cities guarded the mountainous routes.• cities were connect in a chained format by the rivers.
Siting	The water bodies determined the siting of the city: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Cities remained at the same site along the river through history.• Cities were embraced by two water bodies.
City form	The form of the landscape setting determine the scheme of the city: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• The irregularity of the landscape and topography leads to an irregular city form.
City fabric	The flow of river affect the city fabric: <ul style="list-style-type: none">• City gates are located to the water’s side.• Road patterns determine by the city form and location of city gates.

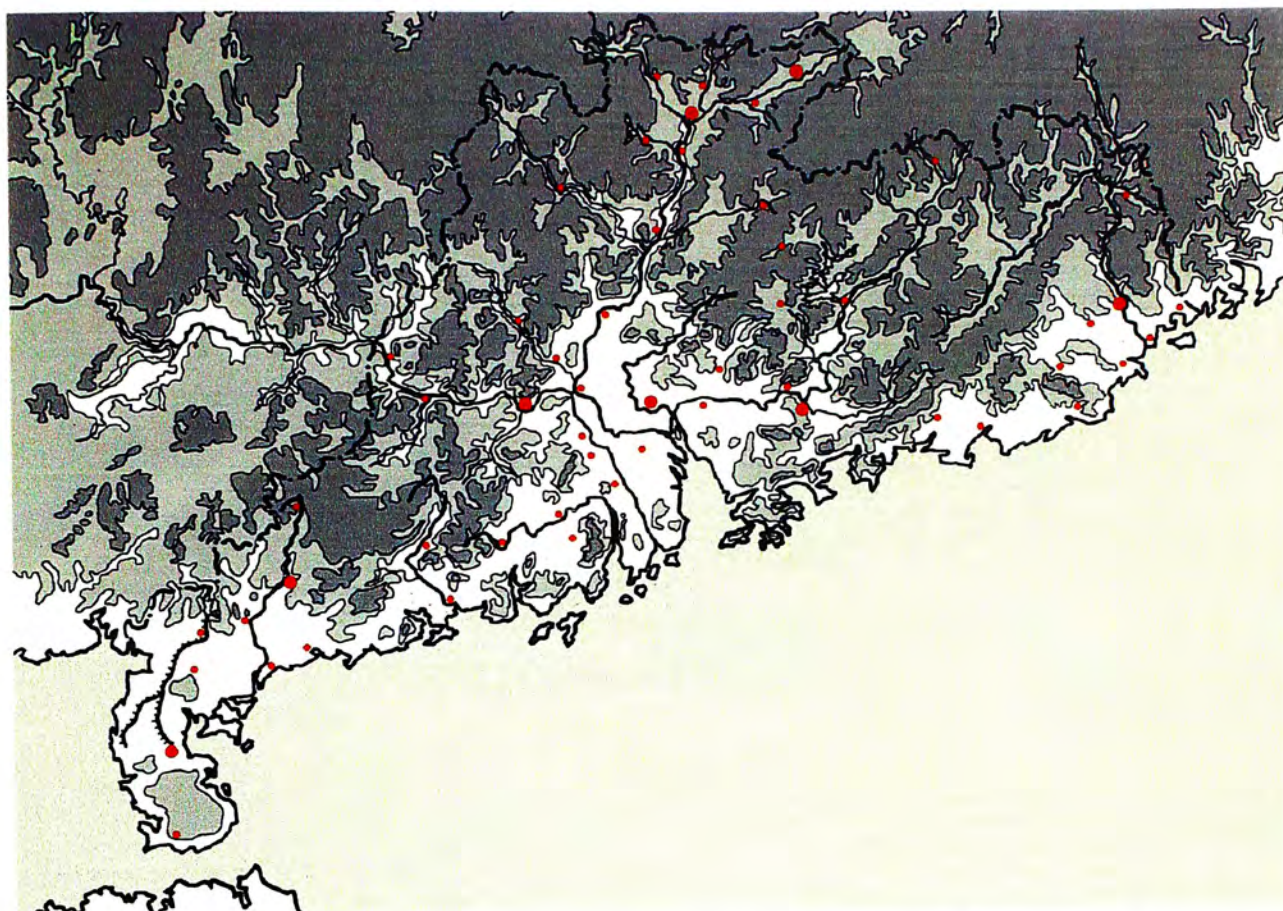
(Table 2.2) The effect of landscape upon Guangdong’s cities.



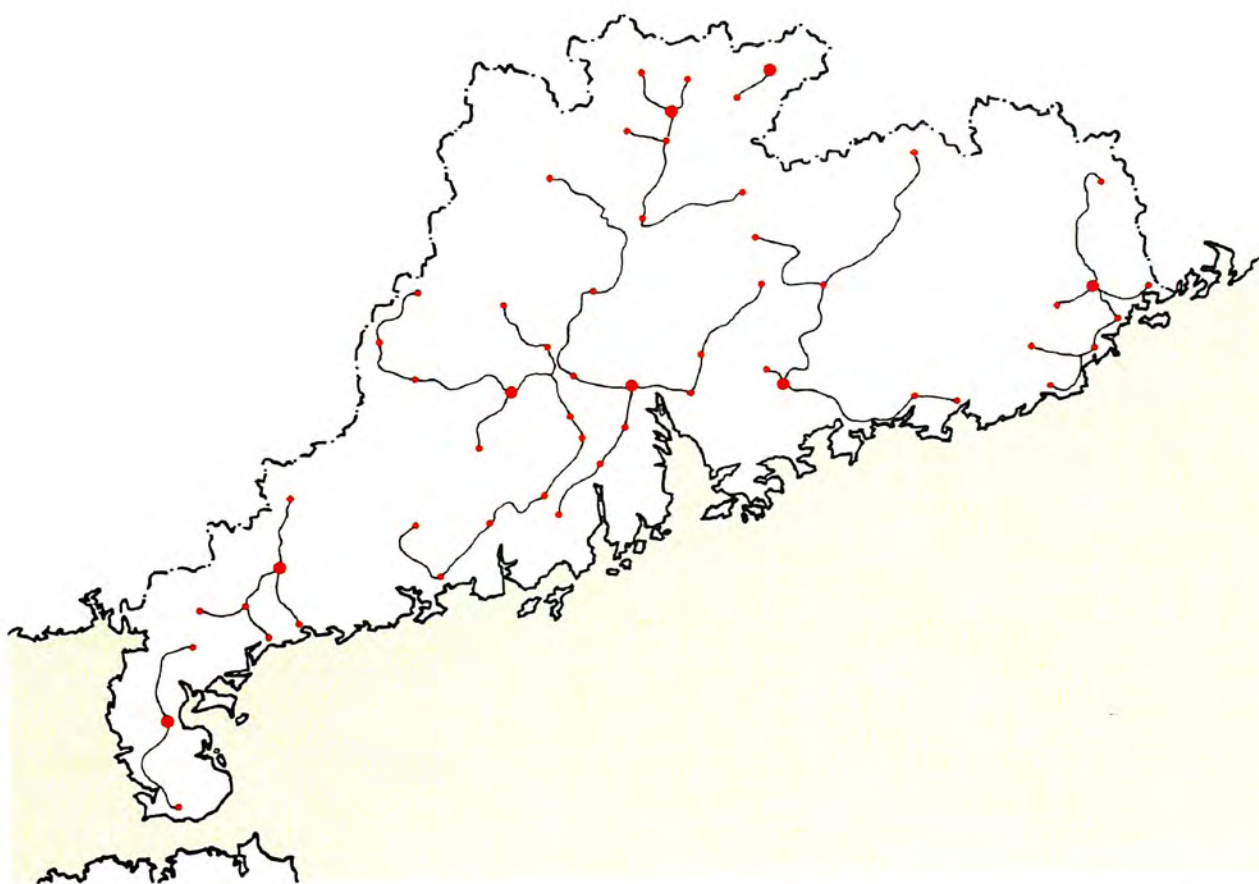
(Fig. 2.15) The prefecture capitals during the late imperial periods were located at the mouth of mountain valleys to guard the major routes in Guangdong.



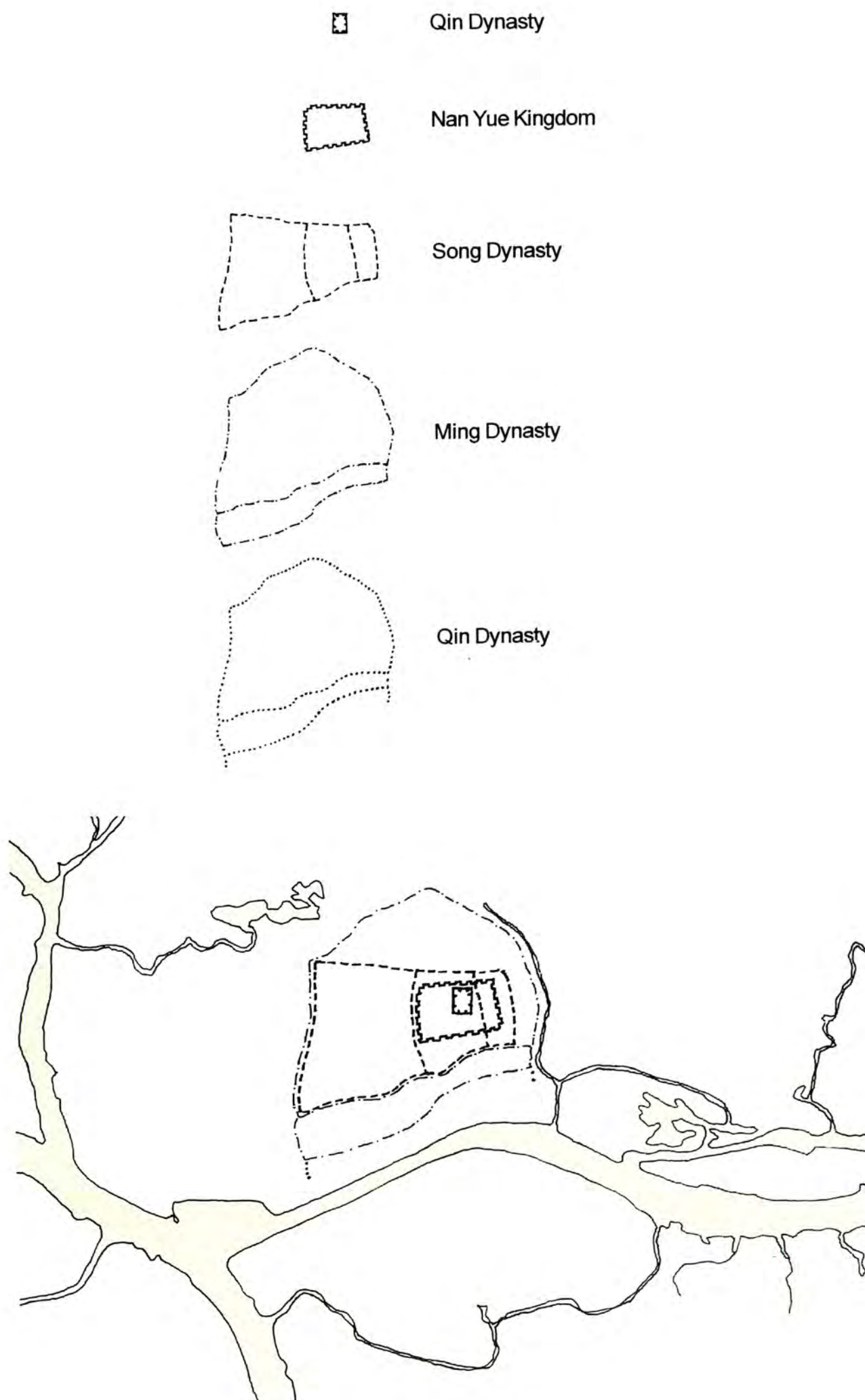
(Fig. 2.16) As shown in the gazetteer of Shaozhou, the gate Meiguan guards the most important route in Guangdong - the Dagengling Pass.



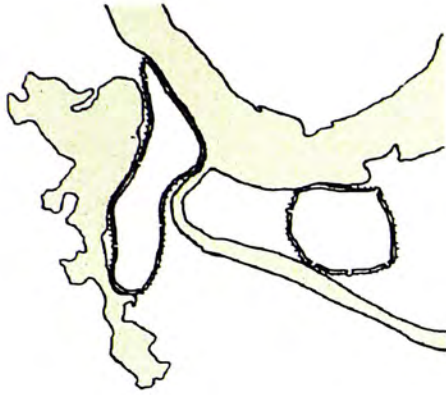
(Fig. 2.17) The relative location of the prefectural capitals and their county seats in Guangdong.



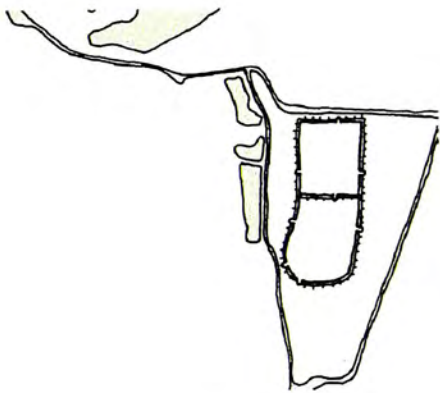
(Fig. 2.18) The prefectural capitals in Guangdong are linked up with their county seats in chained format along the rivers.



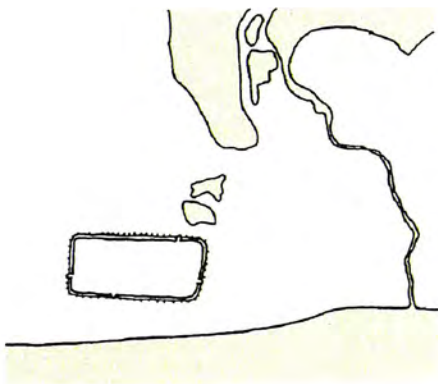
(Fig. 2.19) Guangzhou remained at the same sites throughout its long history.



Huizhou



Leizhou



Zhaoqing



(Fig. 2.20) Chaozhou, Huizhou and Leizhou are bordered by a river and a lake. The lakes in Chaozhou and Huizhou are artificially constructed, while the one in Zhaoqing is natural.

Song Dynasty

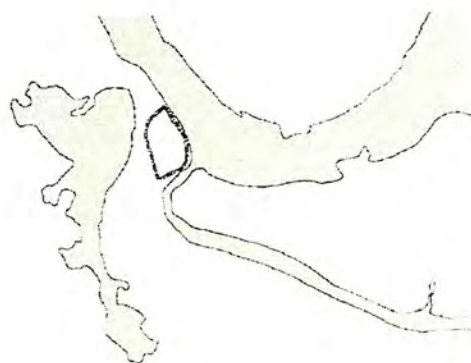
Ming & Qing Dynasty



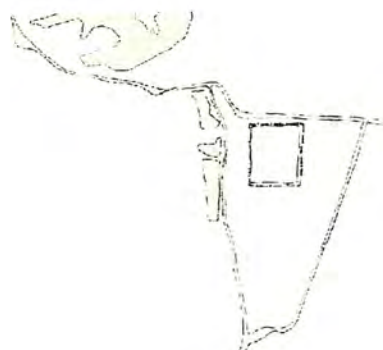
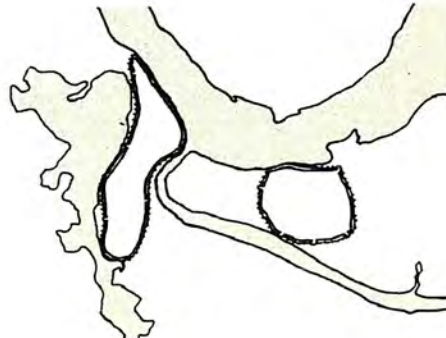
Guangzhou



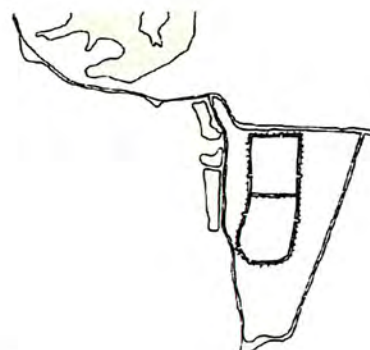
Chaozhou



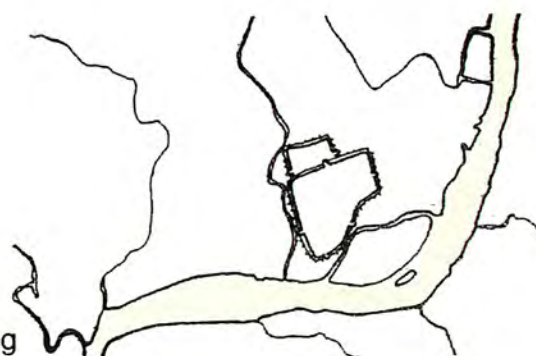
Huizhou



Leizhou



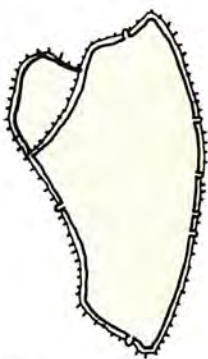
Tuocheng



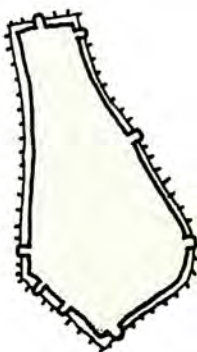
(Fig. 2.21) Many Guangdong cities expanded during the Ming Dynasty. Their morphology greatly differed from that in the Song Dynasty, before expansion.

Historic Map

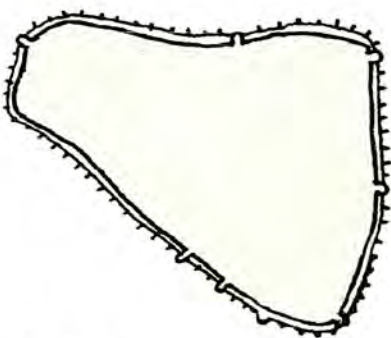
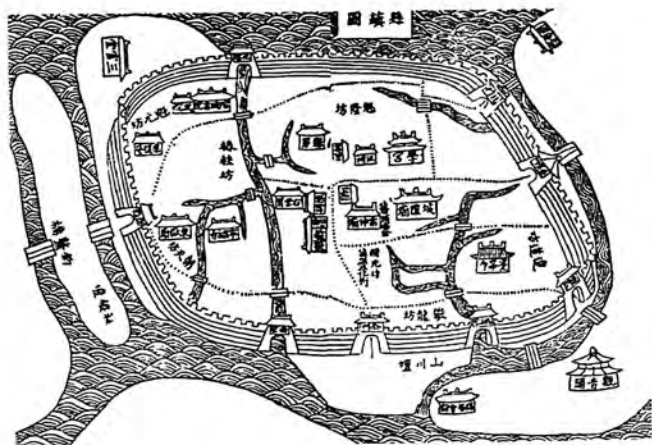
Actual city form



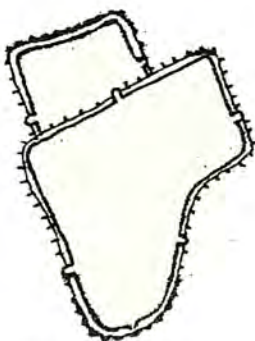
Chaozhou



Shaozhou

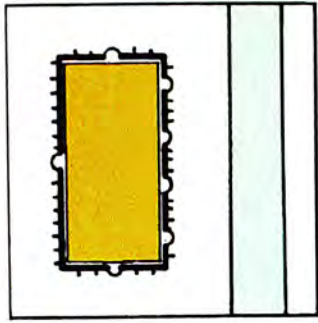


Jieyang

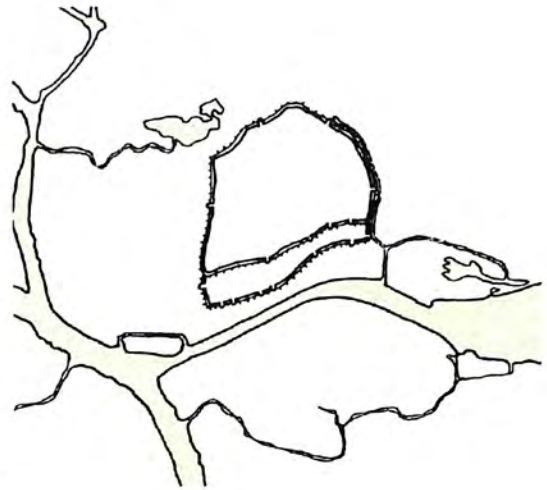


Tuocheng

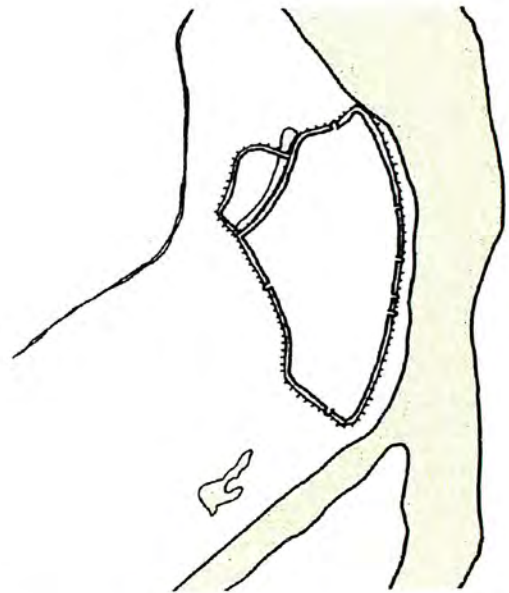
(Fig. 2.22) The forms of Guangdong cities are always appeared orthogonal in the historic maps, despite the fact that the actual schemes are in fact irregular.



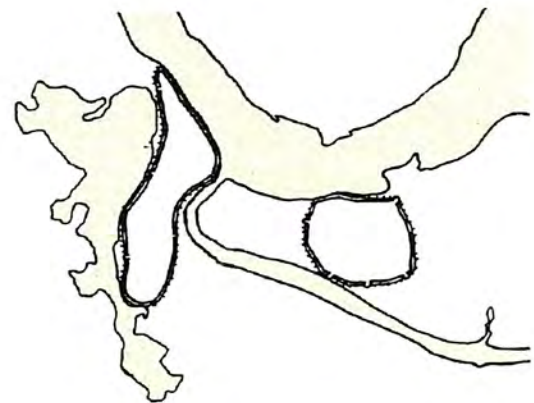
Guangzhou



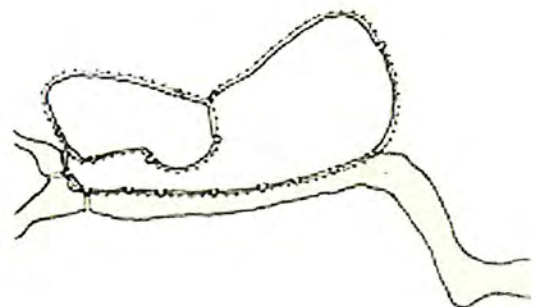
Chaozhou



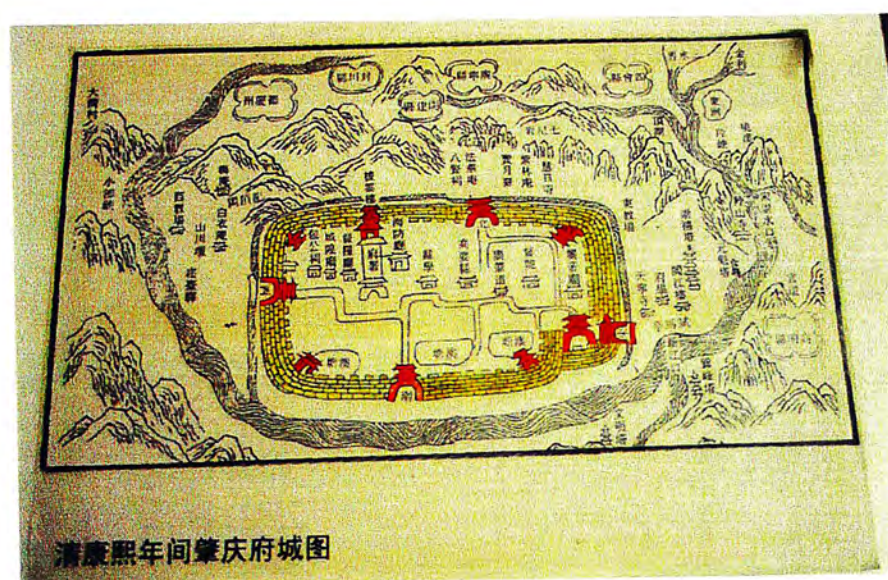
Huizhou



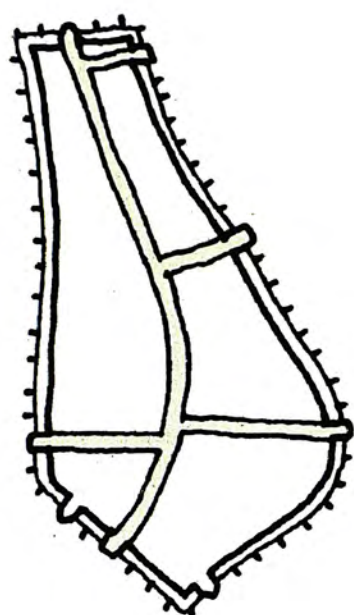
Nanxiong



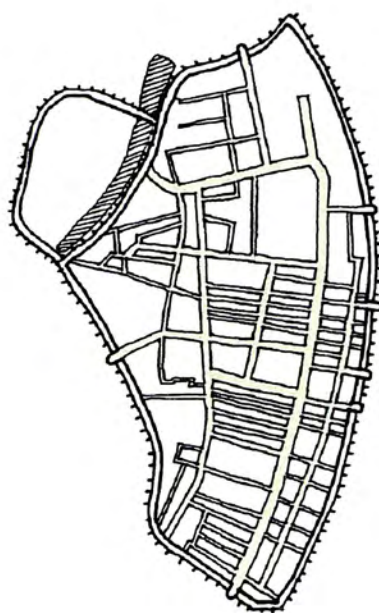
(Fig. 2.23) In most of the imperial Guangdong cities, more city gates are usually opened to the water.



(Fig. 2.24) Unlike most Guangdong cities, the major road in Zhaoqing is tortuous rather than straight, as shown in the historic map.



Shaozhou



Chaozhou

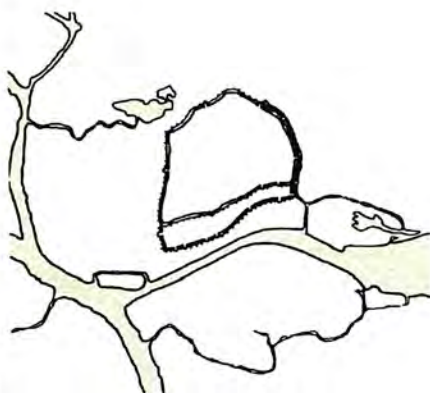


Huizhou

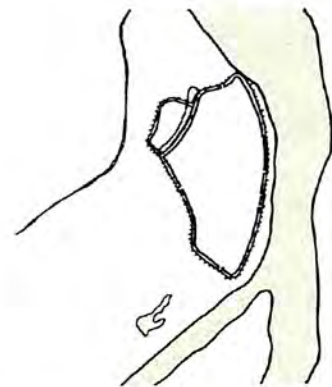


(Fig. 2.25) (Top) Despite its longitudinal form, Shaozhou did not develop rows of streets as in Chaozhou and Huizhou.
(Bottom) A typical row street in Chaozhou.

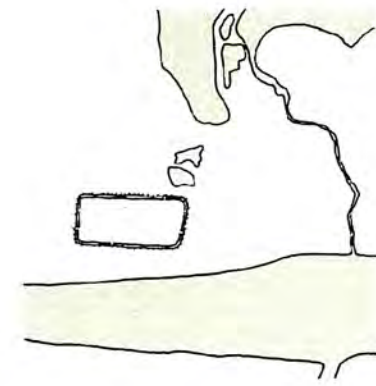
1. Guangzhou



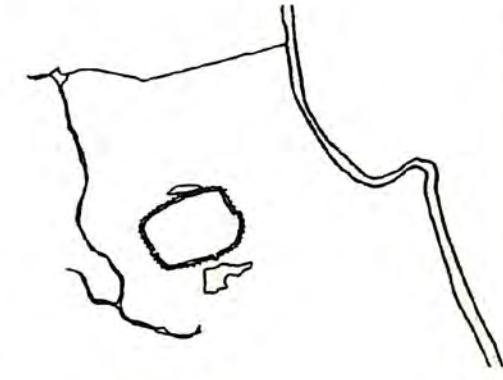
2. Chaozhou



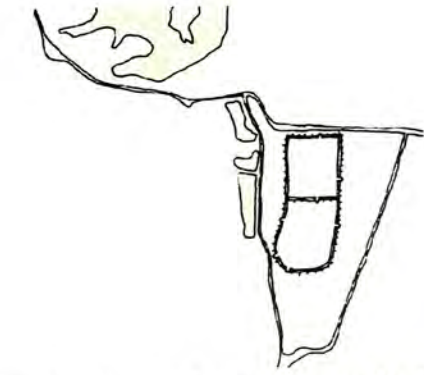
3. Zhaoqing



4. Huizhou



5. Leizhou



(Plate 4b) The five Guangdong cities studied.

2.3 ARCHITECTURAL LEVEL STUDY: THE PLACE THAT PERSISTS THROUGH TIME

Although landscape provides the reference that guided the physical form of Guangdong cities, it is difficult for one to be aware of the characteristic landscape setting when one is put inside the vast city. What a person can experience, instead, is individual place and its urban artifacts; what a person can sense is the spirit of the place. In the architectural level study, we will therefore focus on the places and historic artifacts of five Guangdong cities – Guangzhou 廣州, Chaozhou 潮州, Zhaoqing 肇慶, Huizhou 惠州 and Leizhou 雷州.⁹⁰

We rely heavily on the historic records and maps to understand the situations of the Guangdong cities in the late imperial period. The gazetteer, *Fuzhi* 府志, is the most detailed and informative historic record of one particular Chinese city. Surprisingly, in the Qing gazetteers of Guangdong cities, they only documented five types of urban artifacts: city wall 城池, civic building 廳署, academy 學校, temple and altar 壇廟, pier and bridge 梁津.⁹¹ In addition, official maps illustrated in the gazetteers are always compiled with and complementary to the text. Only these five types of urban artifacts are marked on the map. This happens also in the province's historic record *Guangdong Tongshi* 廣東通史, which reflects that these five types of urban artifacts are important to the Cantonese. However, after examining the degree of preservation of these five types of urban artifacts, and their present conditions in the five cities, we sadly found that they are not extensively preserved today. Rather, it is the places and not the artifacts that have persisted

⁹⁰ Only these five cities in the Guangdong Province are the prefectural capitals in the late imperial period, and at the same time the “Historic and cultural cities” today.

⁹¹ They are recorded in the *Jianzhi Lue* 建置略, a chapter in the *Fuzhi* 府志 that documented the important urban artifacts in the city.

through time.

The place is not merely a physical environment, but is instead a coherent whole constituted by an overlaying of elements. In Australia's Burra Charter a place is defined as a "site, area, buildings or other work, group of buildings or other works together with associated contents and surrounds".⁹² Revisiting a place allows us to recall what has happened. But why are some places more memorable than others? This is because every place has its own spirit, and it is the maintenance of this spirit of the place that helps us to recall our past – what had "taken place" in the place. Therefore, we will not focus in detail on the design of the artifacts. Instead, in this study how they perform in maintaining the spirit of the place will be the main concern.

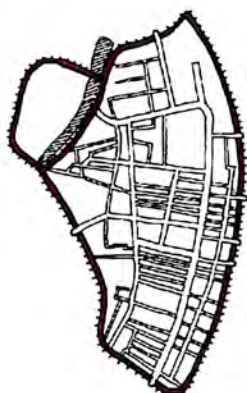
⁹² See Article 1.1 in The Australia ICOMOS charter for the conservation of places of cultural significance (The Burra Charter).

City wall in the Qing Dynasty

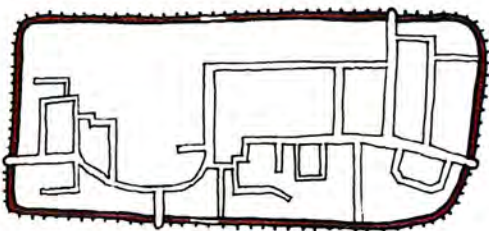
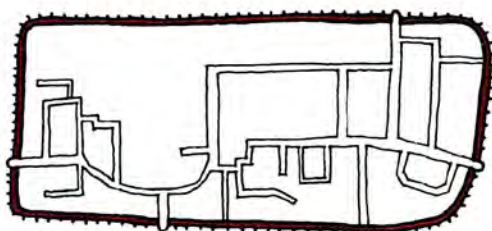
City wall preserved today



Guangzhou



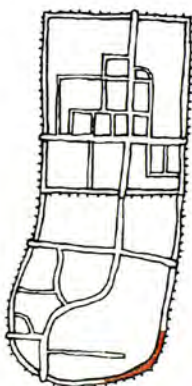
Chaozhou



Zhaoqing



Huizhou



Leizhou

(Plate 5) The preservation of city wall today.

City Wall

The city wall had the ultimate importance for the defense of the city, which historically has been a major concern to the Chinese. The defensibilities of many Guangdong cities were further strengthened by protecting their city gates with lunar city walls (Fig. 2.26), and by excavating moats around the periphery of the walls (Fig. 2.27). Moats were usually connected to the water bodies that embraced the city, and sometimes even threaded into the walled area to connect with the canal system (Fig. 2.28).

Between the 1920s and 1930s, most of the city walls in Guangdong were demolished to facilitate urban growth.⁹³ The original tracks were usually turned into road circuits encircling the city. Nevertheless, in the five cities studied, at least parts of their city walls are preserved today, in either of the following ways (Fig. 2.29):

1. Integrate with leisure park - the preserved portion serves as an important place for leisure. It has thus become a historic monument and landmark in the place, as in Yuexiu Park 越秀公園 in Guangzhou, Peiyunlou Park 披雲樓公園 in Zhaoqing, and Sanyuan Park 三元公園 in Leizhou (Fig. 2.30).
2. Integrate with residential neighborhood - the remaining wall structure integrates with the residential neighborhood, sometimes obscured by attached houses, as in Chaozhou, Zhaoqing and Huizhou. The local residents usually develop their own ways to attach their houses to the wall structure (Fig. 2.31).⁹⁴

⁹³ The demolition of the city wall was responded to the “Jian Guo Fang Lue 建國方略” proposed by Dr. Sun Yatsen.

⁹⁴ The ways that local Huizhou residents attached their houses to the wall structure is illustrated in Chapter Four.

The preserved wall becomes the landmark in the place, or itself becomes a significant place in the city. Zhaoqing illustrate this best. The city wall in Zhaoqing is extensively preserved, which is rarely seen in Guangdong. The walled city was constructed in the Song Dynasty as a military base. Because of the city's sole military function, it remains very small in size and perfect in geometry. The city, greatly concerned with its defensibility, constructed the massive wall with good-quality bricks and erected a lunar city wall and observation towers. Not sure if it is because of its marvelous construction, the wall avoided the fate of being demolished as most other walls were around cities in Guangdong.⁹⁵ Now the preserved wall no longer serves a defensive function, but instead is a place that carries multi-faceted identities: a provincial-level monument standing prominently along a main road (Fig. 2.32); a leisure park with a preserved observation tower (Peiyunlou) sitting on top; a circulation path encircling the city (Fig. 2.33); and a part of the residential neighborhood (Fig. 2.34).

⁹⁵ In 1923, a debate was aroused in Zhaoqing on whether to demolish the city wall or not. Finally, the government decided to preserve the wall with certain alternations: the height of the north and south wall was reduced. Only the north gate was kept, while the other three was demolished. Openings were made on the four walls for the new roads planned through the city.
惠州五十年巨變，劉耀輝編。廣州：廣州花城出版社，1999。

Civic buildings in the Qing Dynasty

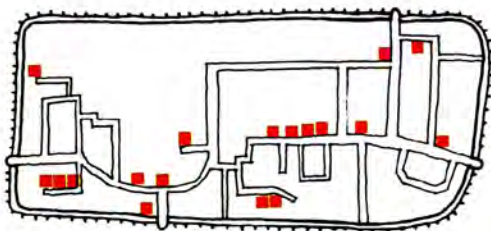
Civic buildings preserved today



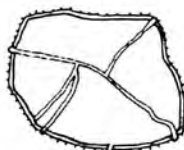
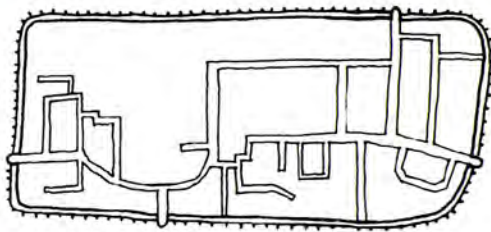
Guangzhou



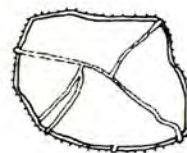
Chaozhou



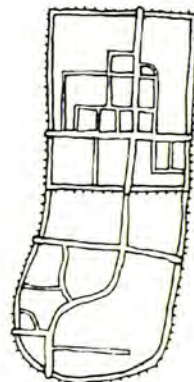
Zhaoqing



Huizhou



Leizhou



(Plate 6) The preservation of civic buildings today.

Civic Building

As recorded in gazetteers, civic buildings in late imperial Guangdong include the yamen, custom, military base, archery field, hospital, pharmacy and other governmental departments.⁹⁶ In some cities, gazetteers even illustrate with drawings the layout of their yamen 衙門 (Fig. 2.35). They occupied large areas and were located at the most prominent places in the city, either:

1. At the centre of the city - in imperial Leizhou, the yamen and other civic buildings formed a complex at the center of the orthogonal city. This follows what the traditional Wangcheng plan 皇城圖 suggested.
2. Along the main east-west axis - the civic buildings were located along the city's main road. Guangzhou and Zhaoqing are the two examples in this case, which are illustrated clearly in the maps of their respective gazetteers (Fig. 2.36).
3. At the north of the city - Both the yamen of Chaozhou and Huizhou were located at the north of the city on top of a small hill. The yamen was originally located at the center of the ancient city. However, when the city expanded to the south at some point the yamen was still kept at the same site. Hence, it resulted in a northern location to the new city.

Despite their important status and large numbers, none of the civic buildings have been preserved today in the five cities. This is not surprising because the destruction to the civic buildings secured and symbolized the overtaking of sovereignty by a new political party. In the gazetteer of Nanhai County, it showed the design of the county yamen changed over time (Fig. 2.37).⁹⁷ However, the new

⁹⁶ Yamen 衙門 is the most important civic building among all. It is the political center in the city, which serve multi-purposes including the magistrate's office and residence, court, police station and detention centre.

⁹⁷ The county yamen 縣衙 of Nanhai 南海 was located at the Guangzhou city. In imperial China the high-levels capital also served as capital of lower levels. Guangzhou, therefore, is the capital city of the Guangdong Province, the Guangzhou Prefecture and the Nanhai County.

yamen is usually reconstructed at the same place as the previous one. Steinhardt's previous explanation on the preference for city to remain at the same place through history also applied to this situation – the past history of imperialism conferred both legitimacy and an aura of rule.⁹⁸ This practice occurred in all the five cities studied, where today's People's Government offices have replaced the imperial yamens (Fig. 2.38). The destruction of the imperial yamen does not truly represent a disregard to heritage, but instead represents the overthrowing of the past feudal society by the republic. The spirit of the place as the political and civic centre in the city is still maintained today.

⁹⁸ Steinhardt, *Chinese Imperial City Planning*, 26.

Academies in the Qing Dynasty

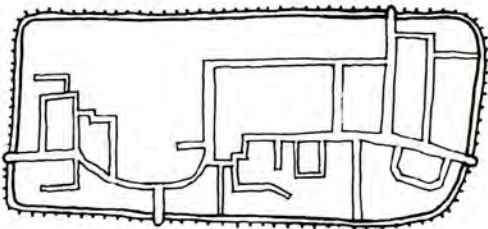
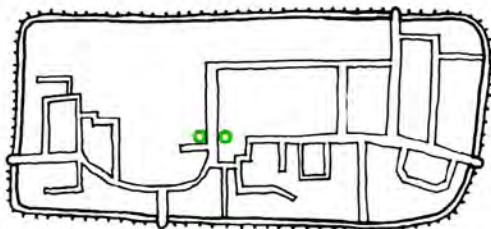
Academics preserved today



Guangzhou



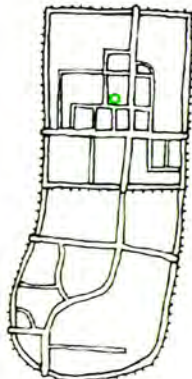
Chaozhou



Zhaoqing



Huizhou



Leizhou

(Plate 7) The preservation of academics today.

Academy

The academies hold significant status within the city – they are the only structures besides the yamen documented with illustrations in the gazetteers (Fig. 2.39). There are two types of academies in Guangdong, the Xuegong 學宮 and the Shuyuan 書院. Xuegong was the official school of the prefecture or county administered by the imperial government. It was a hybrid of both the school and the Confucius temple 孔廟 (Fig. 2.40). This school-temple eventually lost its teaching function in the late imperial period and served mainly as a ritual and administration centre. It was concerned with annual official Confucian rites and with administrative tasks related to the examination system.⁹⁹ On the other hand, the Shuyuan was a college established either by the imperial government or by private bodies. In each city, there was only one Xuegong, but there could be many Shuyuan. In addition to these two types of academies, in each province there was a provincial examination hall (Gongyuan 貢院) at the provincial capital where the imperial examination was administered (Fig. 2.41).

Many Xuegong and Shuyuan in the five cities are preserved today. Most of them are adaptively reused, but they still serve educational purposes. The main structure of the Guixin Xuegong 歸善學宮 in Huizhou, for example, is adaptively reused as a modern high school (Fig. 2.42), while the Xuegong complex at Chaozhou is turned into a museum of the imperial examination system 科舉 (Fig. 2.43). Though some of the academies are demolished, the sites are usually reoccupied again with educational facilities. In Guangzhou, for example, the place for the already-demolished imperial examination hall (Gongyuan) is now occupied by the province's central library, – where again it serves an educational purpose. The case

⁹⁹ Tilemann Grimm, "Academies and Urban Systems in Kwangtung", in *The City in Late Imperial China*, G. William Skinner ed. (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1977), 477.

in Leizhou has added meanings; it keeps the special planning of the city. In imperial Leizhou, the two ancient Shuyuan bordered the imperial yamen and formed a civic complex at the centre of the city. Although the two Shuyuan are now demolished, new high-schools have been rebuilt at the original sites and remind people that the spirit of the place is related to the nurturing of knowledge (Fig. 2.44). Together with the People's Government that replaced the imperial yamen, these three more recently constructed buildings have maintained the city's special planning. Thus, the essence of the place helps store the collective memory of the people.

Temples & altars in the Qing Dynasty Temples & altars preserved today



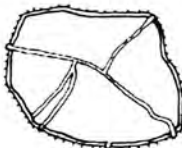
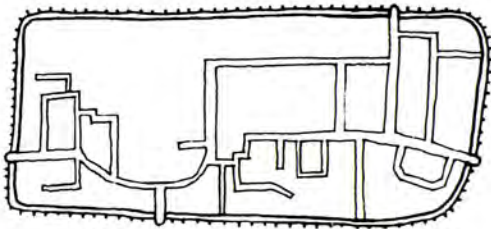
Guangzhou



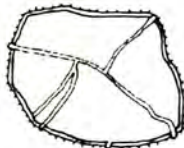
Chaozhou



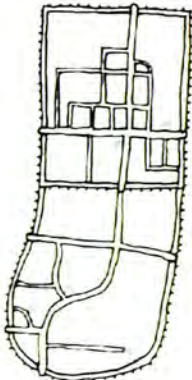
Zhaoqing



Huizhou



Leizhou



(Plate 8) The preservation of temples and altars today.

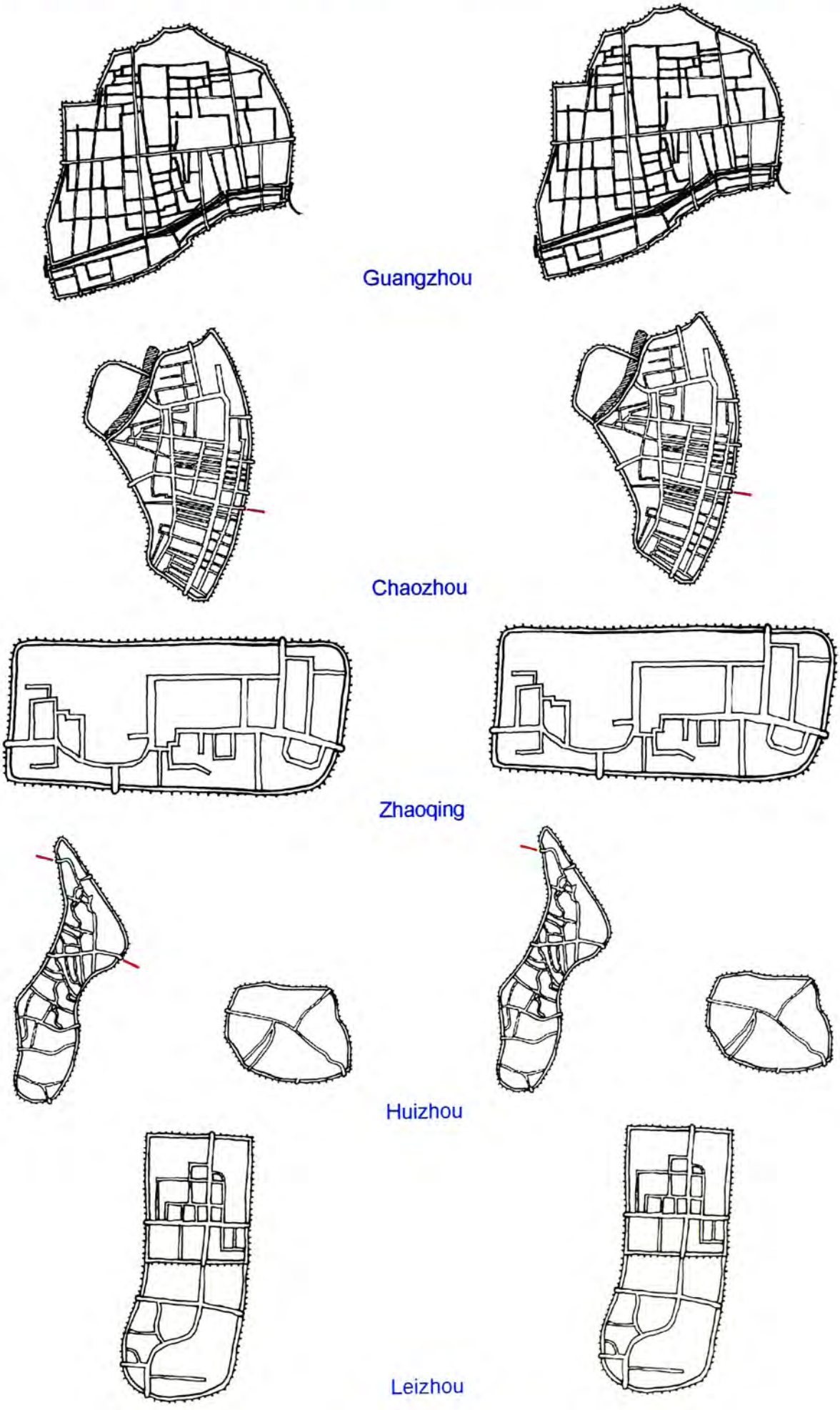
Temple and Altar

No definite location in the city is dedicated to the temples and altars. They distributed throughout the whole city and penetrated into the local communities. Although many religious buildings were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution (1966 – 1976), they are still the best-preserved types of urban artifacts among those recorded in the gazetteers. However, most of those that survive have been either rebuilt or restored. They have become the landmarks in the city, such as the Lurong Temple at Guangzhou, the Kaiyuan Temple 開元寺 at Chaozhou, the Mei Nunnery 梅庵 at Zhaoqing, the Yuanmiao Taoist Temple 元妙觀 at Huizhou and the Tianning Temple 天寧寺 at Leizhou.

The temples and altars sometimes have become the major activity centre in the area (Fig. 2.45). In Guangzhou, for example, religious buildings have dominated the north-west corner of the city. The concentration of historic temples that area the cluster into a bustling religious precinct which has maintained a strong sense of history in contemporary Guangzhou (Fig. 2.46). In Leizhou, too, the temples occupy dominant locations in the city. They stand prominently at the junctions of major roads and mark the city's vista (Fig. 2.47).

Piers & bridges in the Qing Dynasty

Piers & bridges preserved today



(Plate 9) The preservation of piers and bridges today.

Pier and bridge

Since all Guangdong cities border bodies of water, piers and bridges are essential urban structures. However, not many of historic piers and bridges remain, for they no longer fulfill modern needs. However, the sites where piers and bridges once stood are usually kept. New structures have been constructed at the same places for two major reasons:

1. The best location – historically, piers and bridges were constructed at the most appropriate locations in the city (e.g. the shortest distance between riverbanks, the place that avoids the trouble water, etc.). Therefore, new structures have usually been constructed at the same place to enjoy its advantageous location.
2. The best infrastructural supports – since the city has already developed an infrastructural framework that supports the ancient piers and bridges (e.g. the location of city gates, the planning of road networks, the power supplies and etc...), therefore, new structures rebuilt at the same place can continuously enjoy these supports.

Some dominant structures have become important landmarks in the city. The bridge Guangji Qiao 廣濟橋 at Chaozhou is the most outstanding example. Constructed in the Song Dynasty (1171 A.D.), the ancient Guangji Qiao was a floating bridge formed by 86 boats tied up together to the mounds standing amid the rushing Han River. In every epoch, the Chaozhou people reconstructed the bridge and mounds at the same place (Fig. 2.48). Today the Guangji Qiao is no longer a floating bridge but a contemporary steel and concrete structure sitting on the ancient mounds (Fig. 2.49). Not only a national-level monument, the bridge has occupied an important position in the collective memory of Chaozhou. An old saying shows how proud the Chaozhou people are to have this marvelous Guangji Qiao in their city,

“Going to Guangdong but missed Chaozhou,

The visit was a waste of time;

Going to Chaozhou but missed the bridge,

The visit was in vain.”

到廣不到潮，白白走一場。

到潮不到橋，枉費走一遭。

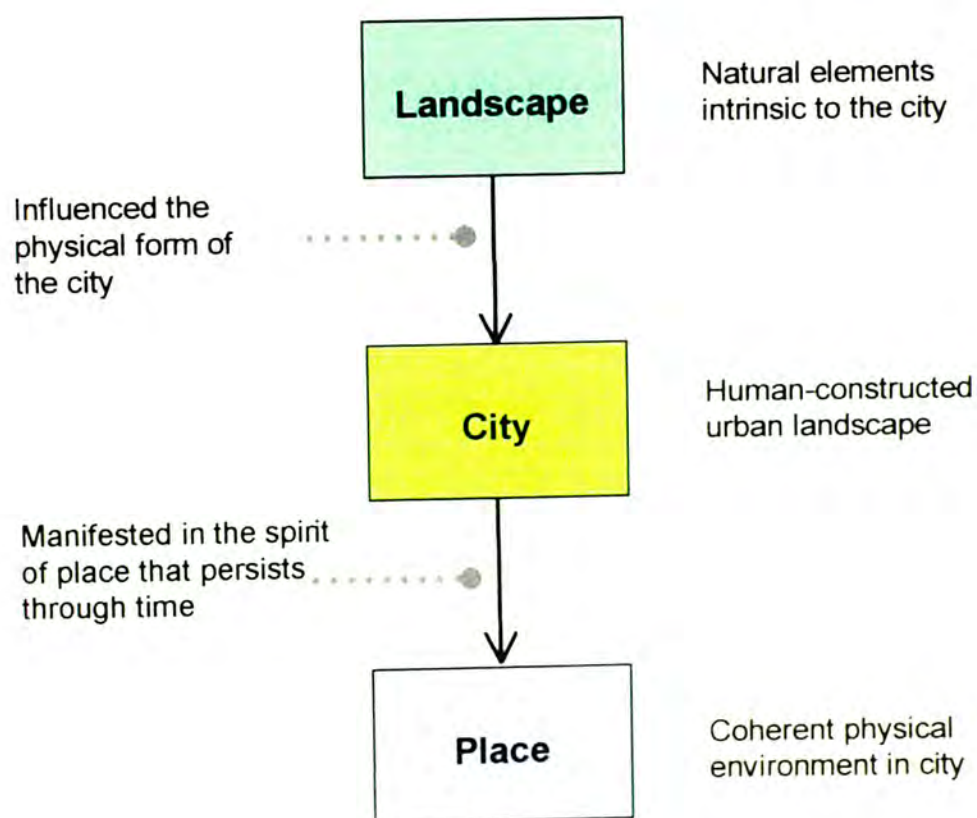
The piers and bridges may also become significant places in the city. The ancient Dongxin Qiao 東新橋, for example, had formed an important commercial area in imperial Huizhou. It was a floating bridge that linked Huizhou, the prefectural capital, with Guishan, the county capital. Prosperous commercial activities develop along this linkage. The spirit of the place is maintained today when the linkage is turned into major shopping precinct of Huizhou.¹⁰⁰

From this architectural level study, it is evident that it is usually not the artifacts that are extensively preserved in the city, but the places and their spirits that have persisted through time. The Cantonese maintain the spirit of the place by conserving the artifacts, the site and its surrounding context – the coherent whole. Because of the disastrous Cultural Revolution and the threat from modernization, many of the historic artifacts in Guangdong were already destroyed. The remaining ones are usually under different degree of alterations and modifications. They are either preserved as landmarks, or are adaptively reused to suit contemporary needs. This reflects that the Cantonese prefer a dynamic approach in conservation, in which the historic artifacts are not frozen in the wake of the city’s propelling development. (They are the propelling permanence, if using Aldo Rossi’s term.)

¹⁰⁰ Details on the commercial linkage and the shopping streets in Huizhou are given at Chapter Four.

SUMMARY

Guangdong has its own regional characteristic very different from the rest of China. The Cantonese have given careful consideration to designing their cities within their specific landscape settings. They intelligently grasped the distinctiveness of their landscape and transformed it to benefit the cities' development. In addition, they tend to preserve historic places rather than artifacts linked to those places. In Guangdong, the landscape is the main determinant in giving form to the city, while the place and its spirit are the elements in the city that persist through time (Fig. 2.50).

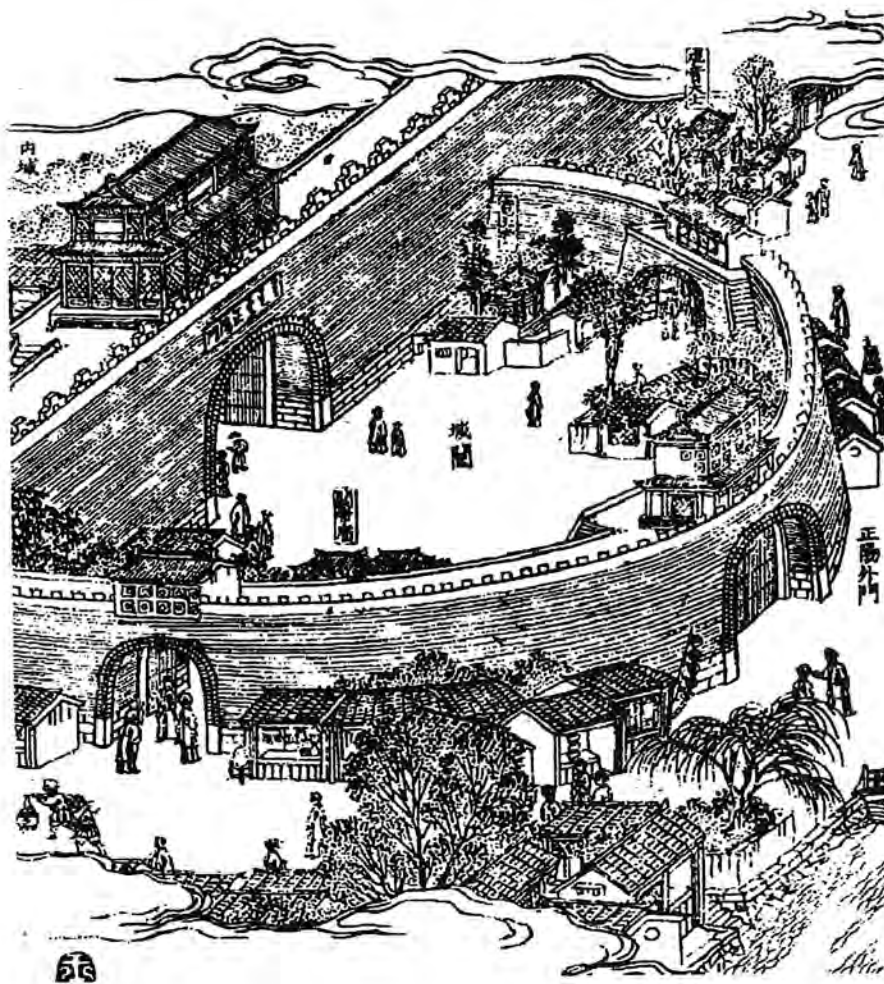


(Fig. 2.50) Diagram showing the relationship of landscape and place to the city.

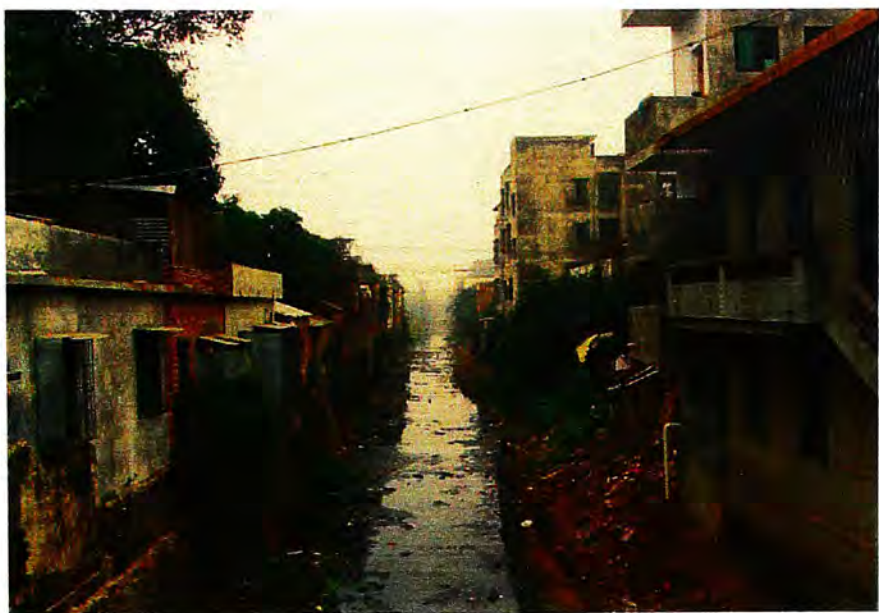
From tangible memory cues to intangible memory cues

Landscape and place are two of the major distinguishing elements of

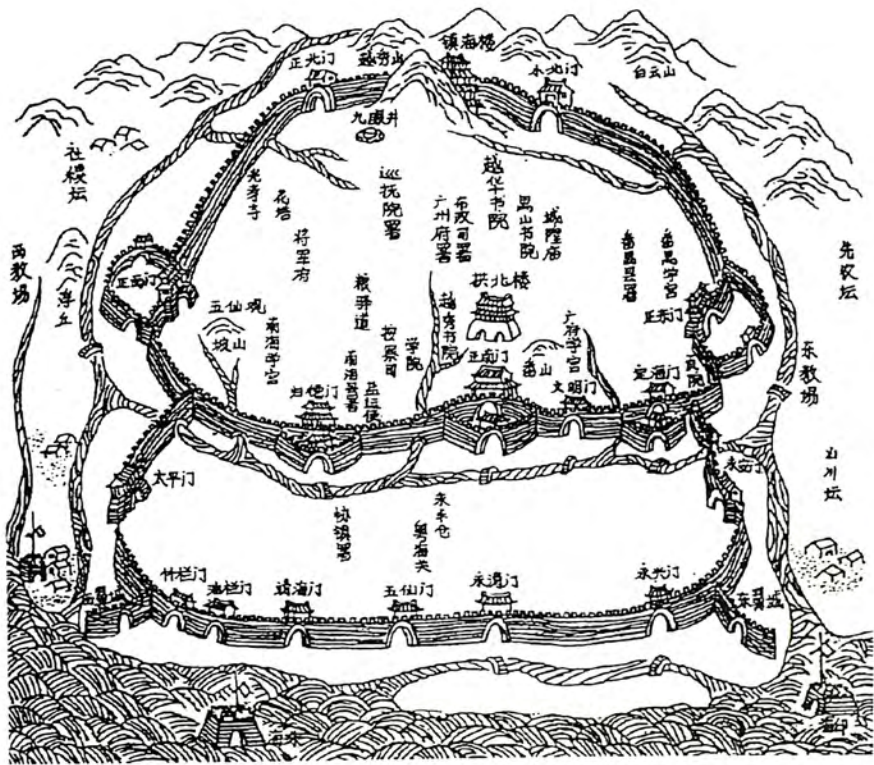
Guangdong. They are also the effective memory cues in retrieving people's collective memories to the cities. However, how is it possible to encode these two distinctive elements for effective memory retrieval? How can one extract their meanings to allow a deeper level of processing by Guangdong residents? In the next chapter, we will discuss how the Cantonese encode and extract the meanings of the landscape and place into intangible forms. From the tangible memory cues we are able to devise those intangible ones.



(Fig. 2.26) The lunar city wall strengthened the defensibility of the city.



(Fig. 2.27) The remains of the moats at Leizhou.



(Fig. 2.28) Canals were threaded into the Qing walled city of Guangzhou through the water gates.

Guangzhou



Chaozhou



Zhaqing



Huizhou



Leizhou



((Fig. 2.29) In all the five cities studied, at least a portion of the city wall is preserved.



(Fig. 2.30) The preserved city wall is included in the leisure park, as in Guangzhou (Top) and Leizhou (Bottom).



(Fig. 2.31) The preserved city wall is attached to the residential neighborhood, as in the case of Zhaoqing.



(Fig. 2.32) The preserved city wall in Zhaoqing is now listed as a provincial-level monument.

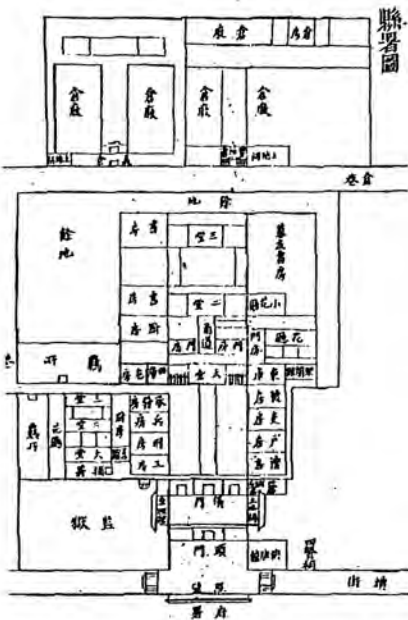


(Fig. 2.33) The city wall in Zhaoqing also serves as an upper level circulation.

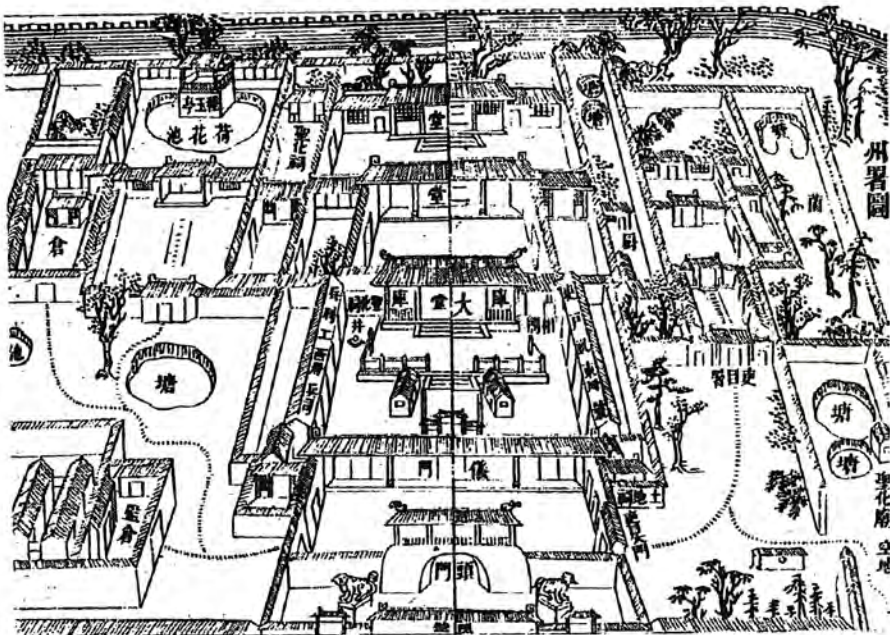


Fig. 2.34) The city wall in Zhaoqing transformed its defensive role into a structure facilitating the living of the residents.

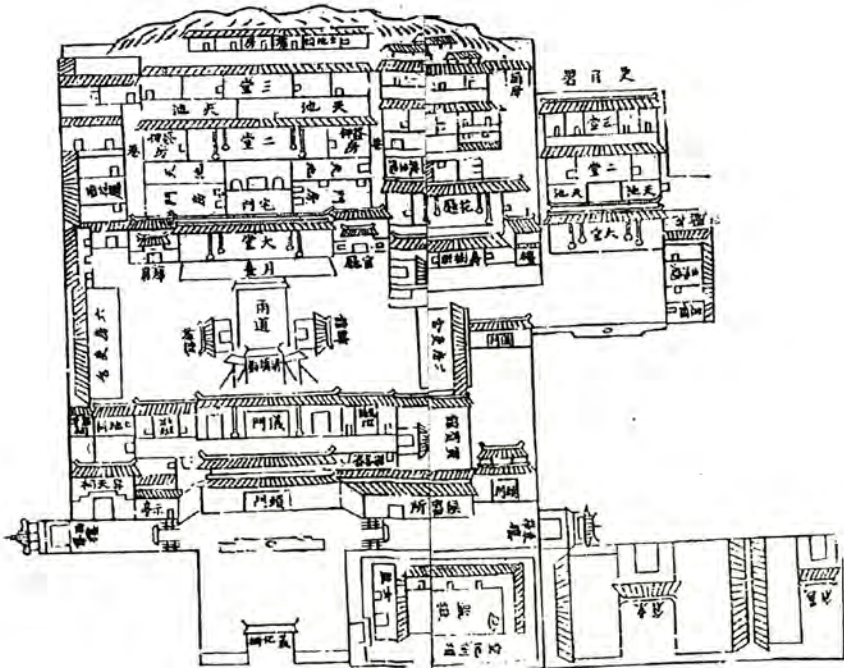
Chaozhou



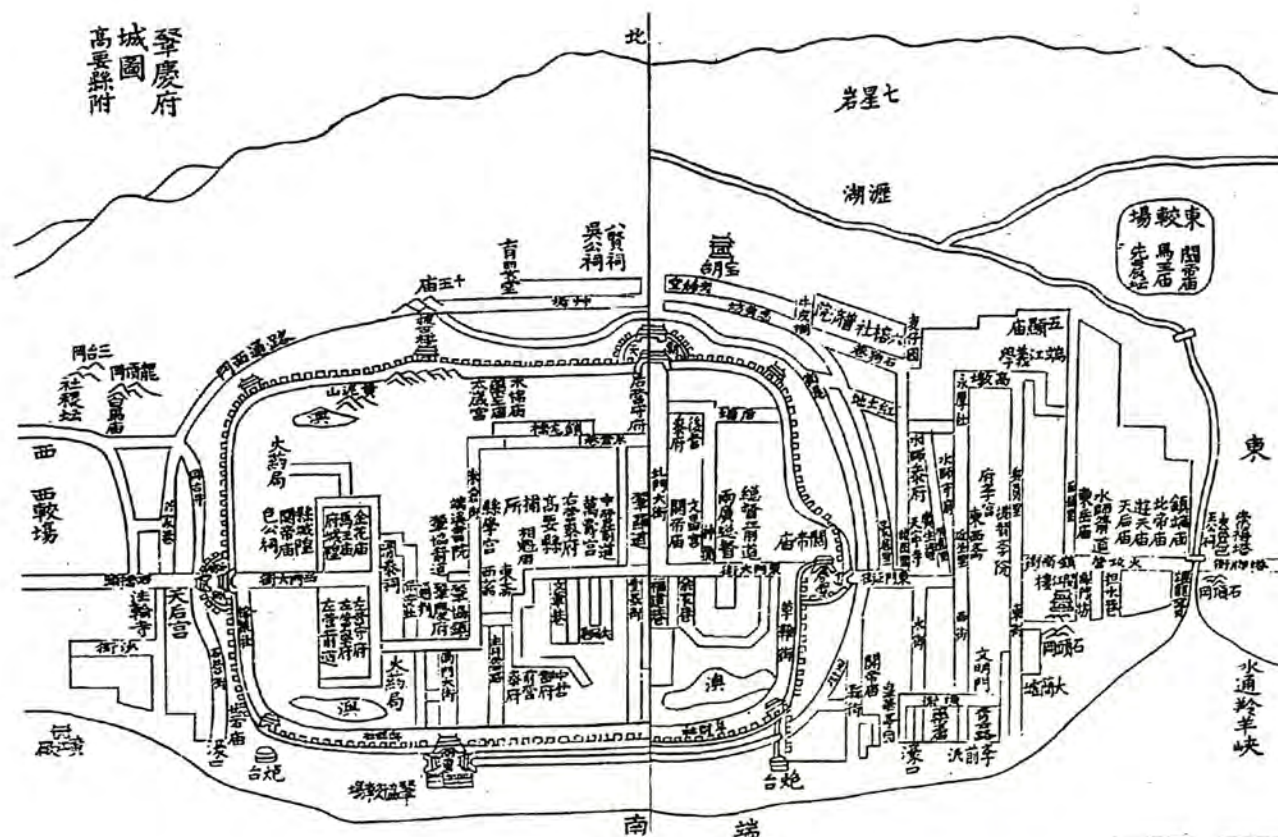
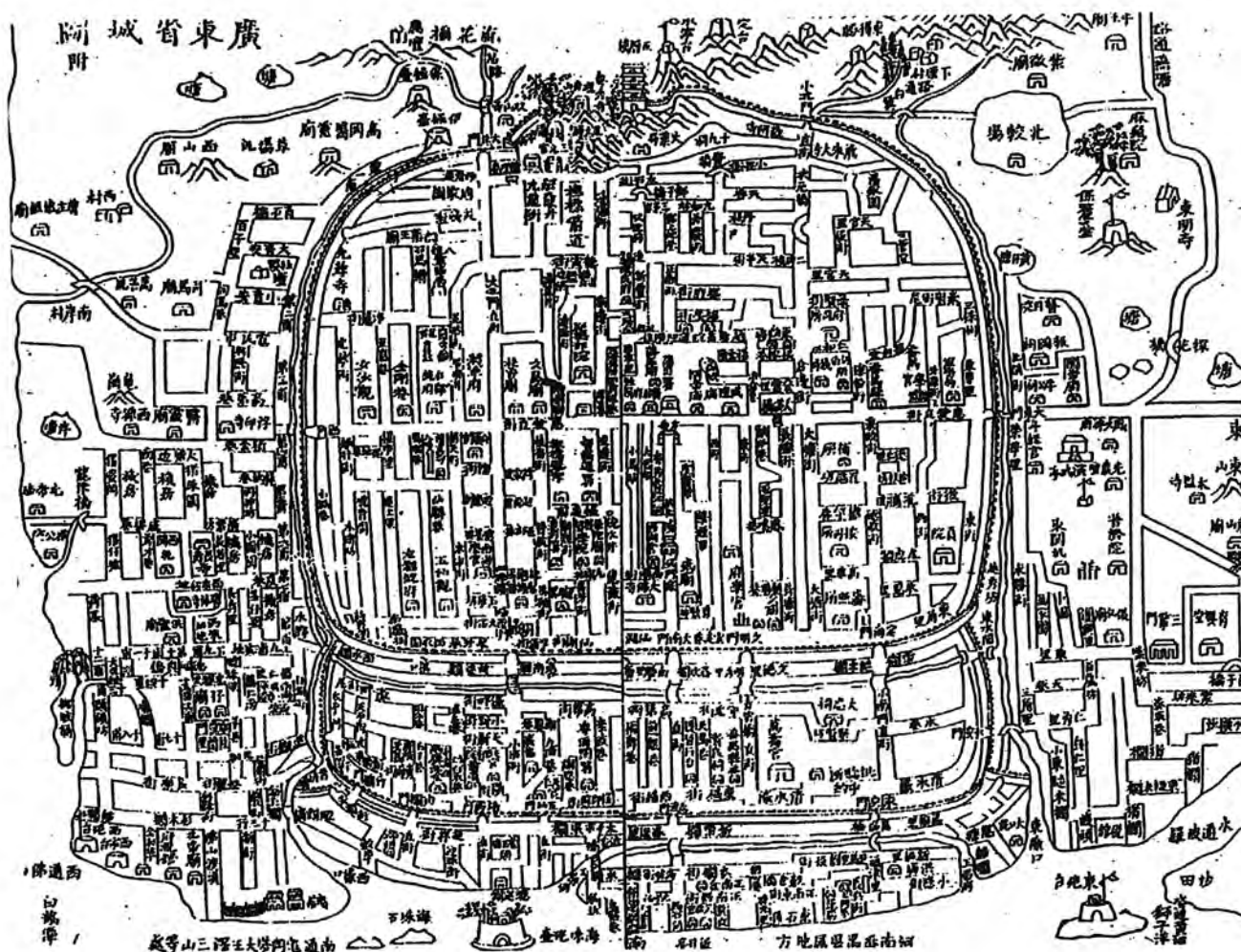
Nanxiong



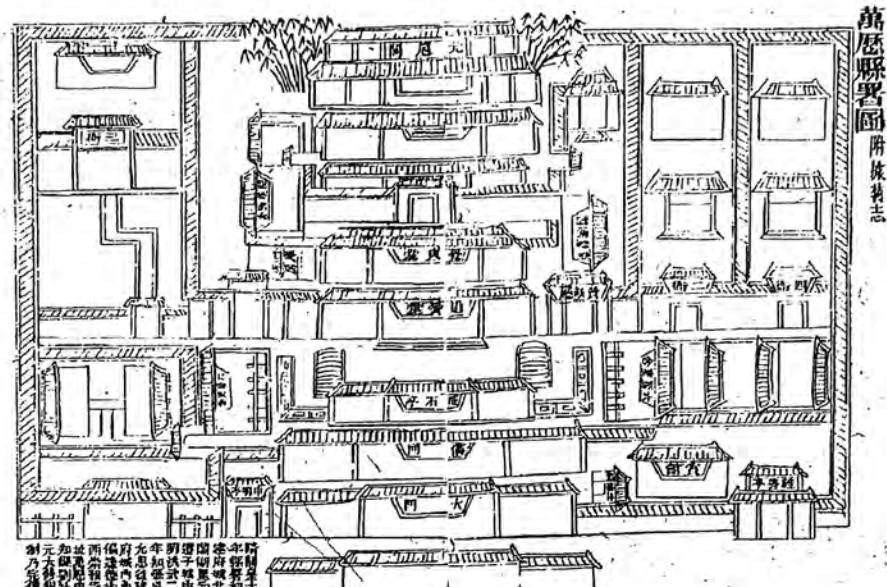
Meizhou



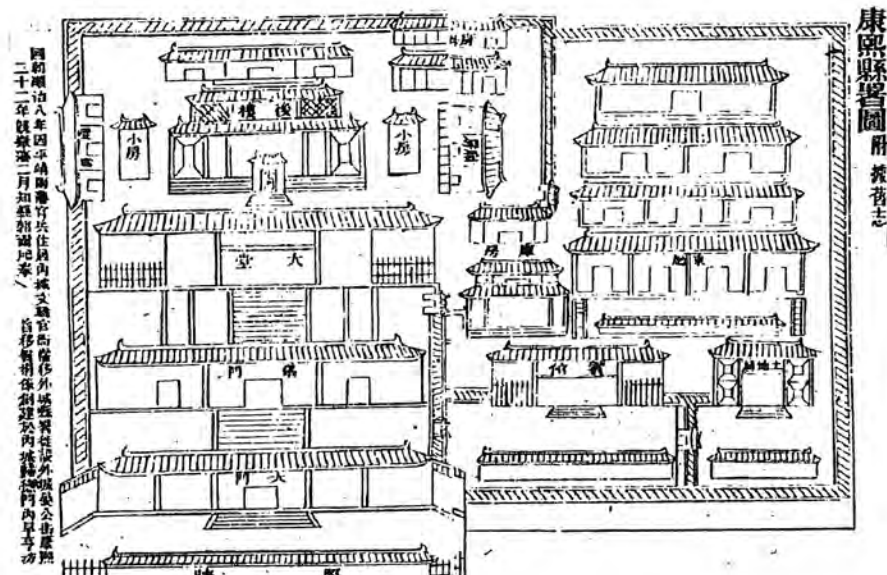
(Fig. 2.35) The layout of yamen as illustrated in the gazetteer of Guangdong cities.



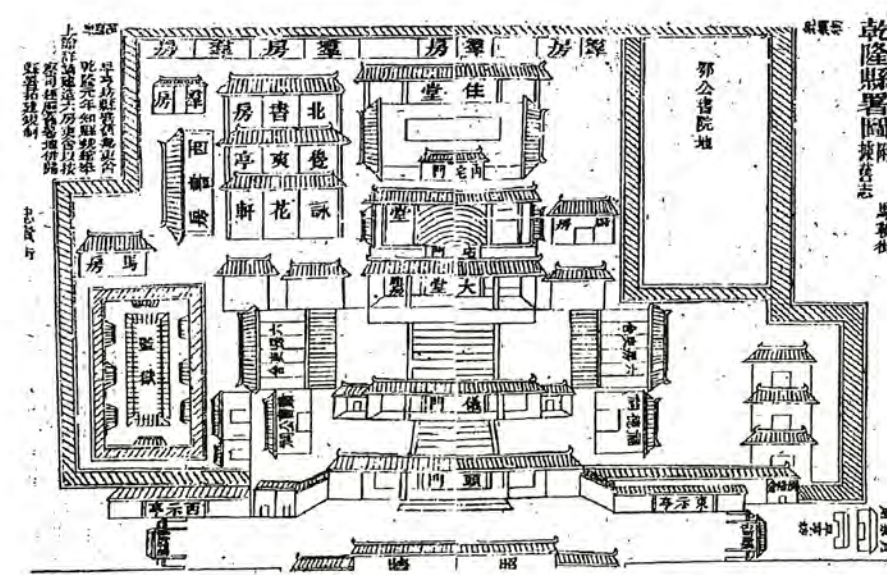
(Fig. 2.36) The gazetteer of Guangzhou (Top) and Huizhou (Bottom) showed that the civic buildings in imperial time were usually located along the major road running east-west across the city.



Wenli reign



Kangxi reign

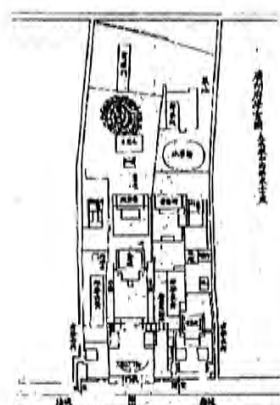


Qianlong reign

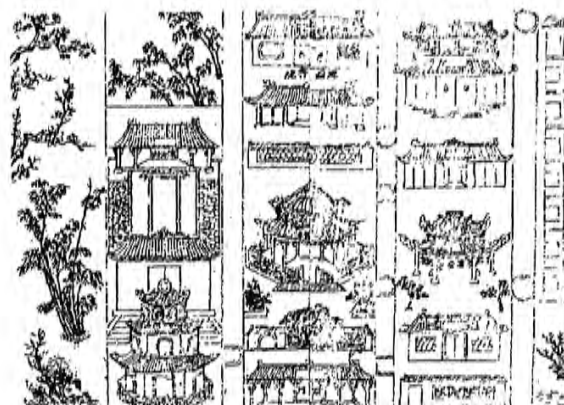
(Fig. 2.37) The gazetteer of Nanhai County at Guangzhou showed the layout of its yamen at different historic periods.



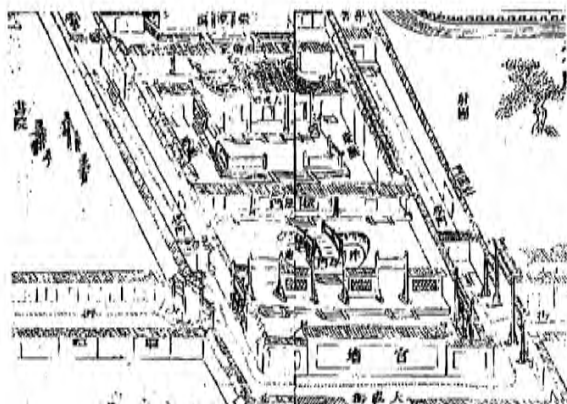
(Fig. 2.38) The present head-office of the Guangzhou government is constructed at the original site of the imperial yamen.



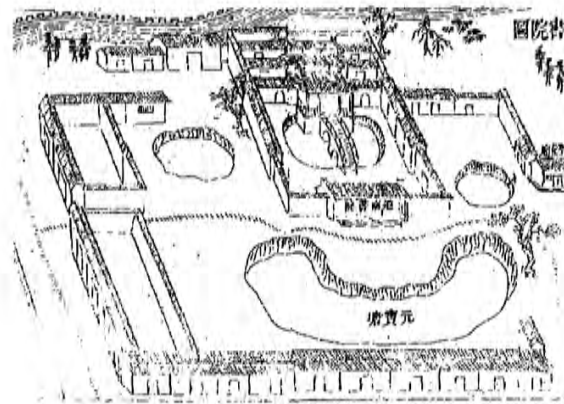
Guangzhou Xuegong



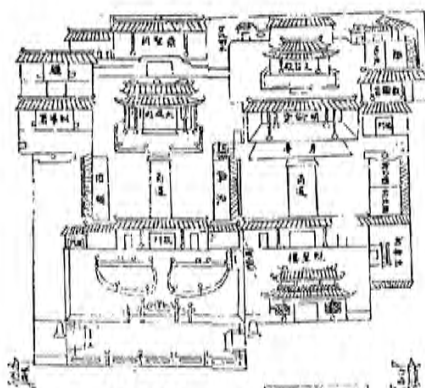
Huizhou (Guishan) Shuyuan



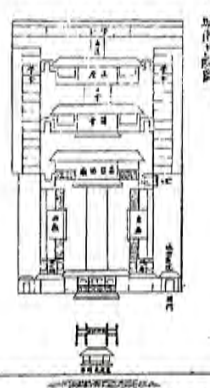
Nanxiong Xuegong



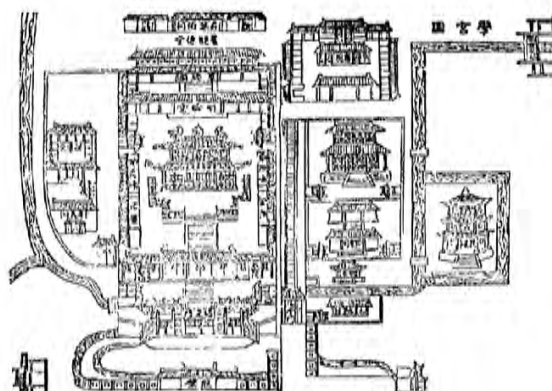
Nanxiong Shuyuan



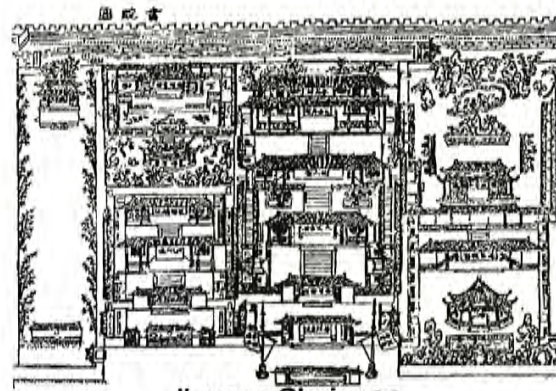
Meizhou Xuegong



Chaozhou Shuyuan

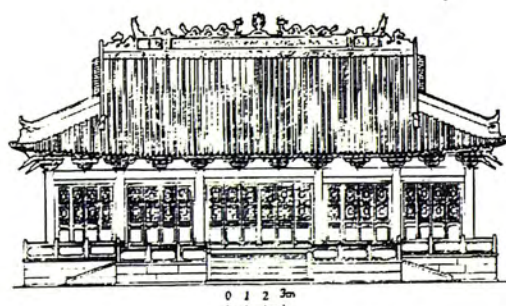


Jieyang Xuegong

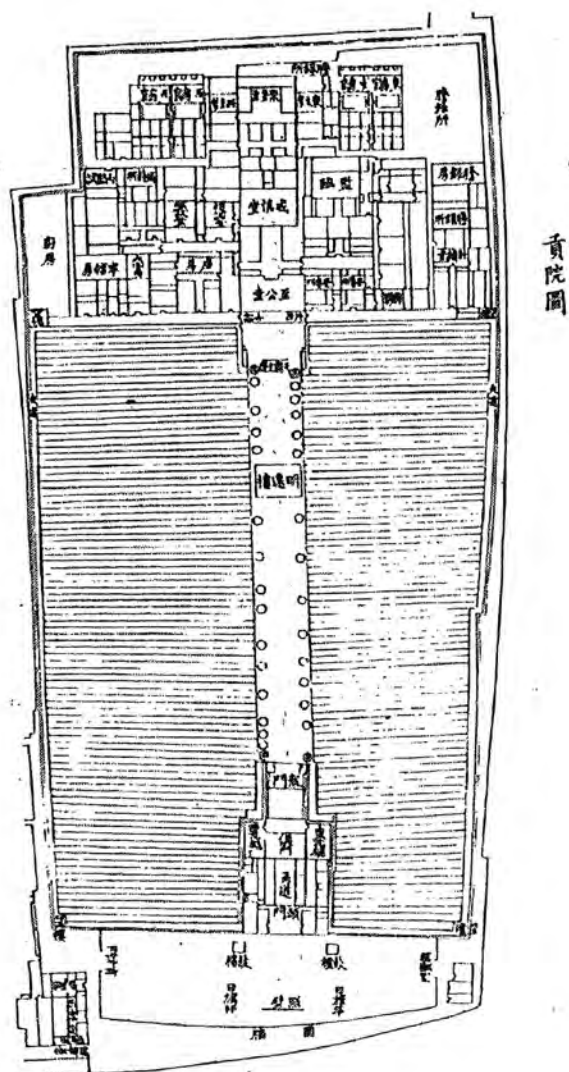


Jieyang Shuyuan

(Fig. 2.39) The layout of the Xuegong (Left) and Shuyuan (Right) at different Guangdong cities as recorded in their gazetteers.



(Fig. 2.40) The Xuegong at Chaozhou served as both school and Confucius temple in imperial time.



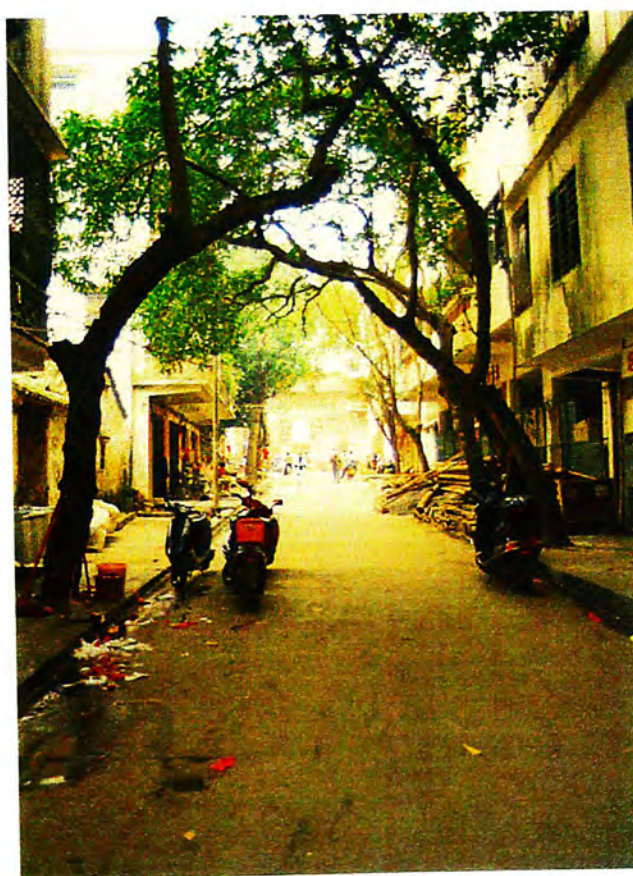
(Fig. 2.41) The provincial examination hall Gongyuan of Guangdong was located at its capital Guangzhou.



(Fig. 2.42) The Guishan Xuegong in Huizhou is now adaptive reused as a modern high school.



(Fig. 2.43) The Haiyang Xuegong at Chaozhou is now turned into a museum of imperial examination system.



(Fig. 2.44) The two Shuyuan at Leizhou are demolished. The original sites are now occupied by two modern high schools respectively.



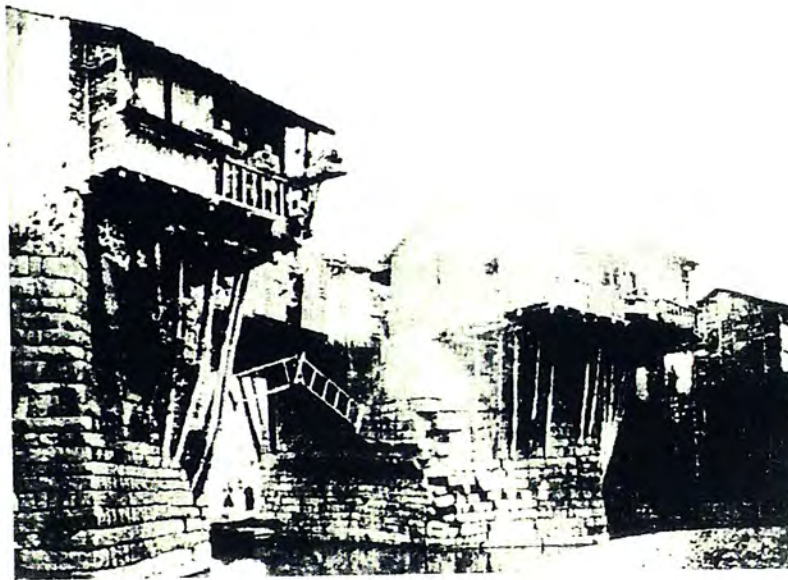
(Fig. 2.45) The Tianning Temple at Leizhou is a major activity center in the area.



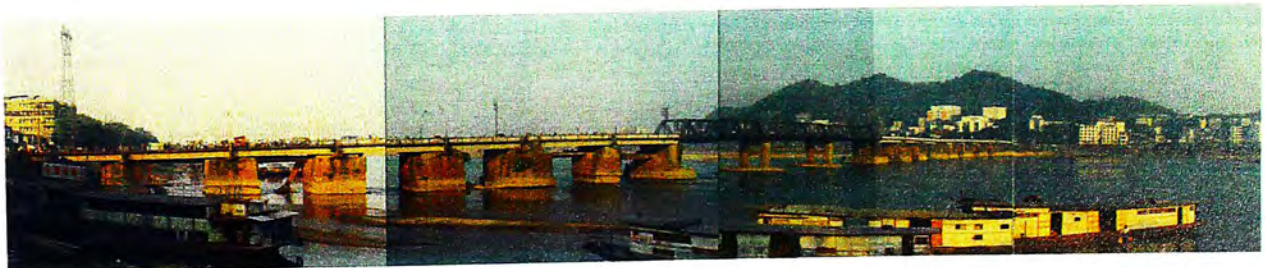
(Fig. 2.46) This religious cluster conveys a historic sense to the contemporary city Guangzhou.



(Fig. 2.47) The temples at Leizhou stand prominently at the junctions of major roads and mark the vista of the city.



(Fig. 2.48) The ancient bridge Guangji Qiao at Chaozhou was a floating bridge formed by wooden boats tied together.



(Fig. 2.49) Today Guangji Qiao is a steel and concrete structure sitting on the ancient mounds.

CHAPTER THREE: FROM TANGIBLE MEMORY CUES TO INTANGIBLE MEMORY CUES

The landscape determines the city's physical form, which is manifested into places that carry spirits. However, in the minds of the Chinese, there is another level of relationship between the landscape and the place:

“Rich of distinctive scenes, the landscape will be picturesque,
With picturesque landscape, the place will full of talented people.
That's so-called ‘the place is ingenious and the people are outstanding’.”

(Li Zhen, introduction to *Yangcheng Ba Jing*)

景物富則山川麗，山川麗則人才盛。

所謂地靈人傑，信矣？

(黎貞，“羊城八景”序)

Li Zhen's description reflects the Chinese's belief in the hidden relationship between the landscape and the place: with picturesque landscape, the place is ingenious enough to nurture outstanding people. At the same time, we are aware of two elements here crucial to this landscape-place relationship: distinctive scenes and text. The Chinese visualized the picturesque landscape and ingenious place through their distinctive scenes. And they extracted and highlighted the distinctiveness of the landscape, place and scenes by using text. From the tangible memory cues (landscape and place) we can devise those intangible ones (scenes and text), which are deeply processed and encoded in the people's collective memory of Guangdong cities.

3.1 SCENE: THE VISUALIZATION OF THE CITY

Landscape, when described as Shan Shui 山水 in Chinese, means the mountain and the water. The Cantonese highly value their natural environment.¹⁰¹ Because of such appreciation, they like to identify the distinctive scenes generated by the beautiful landscape. Therefore, it is not coincident that in many Guangdong cities (including all the five prefectural capitals studied), there are lists of “Ming Jing 名景” that remarked their distinctive scenes. (“Ming 名” in Chinese, means both famous and distinctive; while “Jing 景” means the scene.)¹⁰² “Ming Jing 名景” is usually associated with “Jing Dian 景點”, a term denotes the place that constituted the scene, or the place that best in appreciating the scene. “Jing”, the scene, is therefore an intangible memory cue that the Cantonese employed to encode and visualize the landscape and the place.

The formation of the list and its popularity

The tradition of listing the city’s distinctive scenes did not originate in Guangdong. Instead, it started in the Song Dynasty at Xiaoxiang 瀟湘 (present Hunnan 湖南 Province).¹⁰³ A famous artist Song Di 宋迪 captured the most outstanding scenes in the city in his landscape paintings. People later named those scenes as the Xiaoxiang Ba Jing 瀟湘八景 (Eight Scenes in Xiaoxing) and this formed the first list of distinctive scenes in China. Later, with an appreciation to

¹⁰¹ In the gazetteer of any Guangdong city, it has a whole Chapter *Shan Chuan* 山川略 documented in text all the mountains and water bodies in the city. The one of Huizhou even devotes two sections in the chapter to the prefecture’s two major landscape features: the Mt. Luofu 羅浮山 and the West Lake 西湖 (Fig. 3.11).

¹⁰² Since the list is usually composed of eight distinctive scenes, it is sometimes called “Ba Jing 八景” – the eight scenes.

¹⁰³ In the introduction to *Yangcheng Ba Jing* 羊城八景, the author Li Zhen describes that “the eight scenes starts from Xiaoxiang and spreads to the whole world 八景起於瀟湘而綿延於天下”

Song Di's paintings, the calligrapher Mi Fu 米芾 inscribed a poem for each of them. Because of his fame, Mi Fu accidentally made the list famous to the whole country. From then on people everywhere in China copied him by listing the distinctive scenes in their own city. This trend spread to Guangdong as well and became very popular. Not only limited to major cities, the list of distinctive scenes is found in all the counties in Huizhou, as shown in its gazetteer (Fig. 3.12). Besides, in Jieyang 揭陽縣 and Tucheng County 陀城縣, their gazetteers were even illustrated with paintings of their city's list (Fig. 3.13 a & b). This shows that the Cantonese widely employed the distinctive scenes in memorizing their cities.

The components of the list

The first list of distinctive scenes created in Xiaoxiang was based on an appreciation of landscape and place, which are the key components that formed picturesque scenes in the city. The eight distinctive scenes of Guangzhou listed in the Song Dynasty, for example, were all related to the water bodies. In Huizhou, all eight distinctive scenes listed were centered on the West Lake. When analyzing Chaozhou Ba Jing 潮州八景 (Eight scenes of Chaozhou), the four basic components that contributed to the formation of the distinctive scenes (Table 3.1), which applies to other Guangdong cities:

1. A poetic title composed of four Chinese characters;
2. A landscape setting or natural element;
3. An artifact in the place; and
4. A specific time spectrum. (Optional criterion)

Chaozhou Ba Jing 潮州八景	Time	Artifacts	Natural elements
Xiang Qiao Chun Zhang 湘橋春漲 Spring tide rising ups and downs under the bridge Xian Zhi Qiao	Spring	The bridge Xiang Zhi Qiao	The rise and fall of the tide
Long Jiao Bao Ta 龍湫寶塔 Bitter-sweet spring coming up aside the precious pagoda		The precious pagoda	Flowing of spring water
Han Ci Xiang Mu 韓祠橡木 Oak trees growing around the ancestral shrine Han Ci		The ancestral hall Han Ci	Flowering of oak trees
Xi Hu Yu Fa 西湖漁筏 Fishing rafts emerged in the mist of the West Lake	Early summer	Troops of fishing rafts	West Lake in mist
Jin Shan Gu Song 金山古松 Aged pine trees buried the hill Jin Shan		Aged pine trees	The hill Jin Shan
Feng Tai Shi Yu 鳳臺時雨 Summer rains falling occasionally onto the platform Feng Huang Tai	Summer	The platform Feng Huang Tai	Seasonal rains fall occasionally
E Du Qiu Feng 鯉渡秋風 The Pier E amid the autumn wind	Autumn	The pier E	Wind assisting navigation
Bei Ge Fo Deng 北閣佛燈 Buddhist lamps lighting up the temple complex Bei Ge	At night	The temple complex Bei Ge	Light emitted from the Buddhist lamps

(Table 3.1) The components constituting the Chaozhou Ba Jing

The evolution of the list

These four basic components that constitute the distinctive scenes still apply even though the list has evolved with time. It is a notable phenomenon of the list that it keeps being revised in different epochs. The one in Guangzhou, for example, has been amended several times. Commonly known as Yangcheng Ba Jing 羊城八景 (Eight scenes of Yangcheng), the list of distinctive scenes in Guangzhou was first identified in the Song Dynasty - the time when Guangzhou expanded dramatically. The city's tourism boomed rapidly along with its prosperous development. People enjoyed visiting scenic spots in leisure time. They followed Xiaoxiang and listed the distinctive scenes that best captured the image of Guangzhou. Since then, Yangcheng Ba Jing keeps being revised in every epoch.¹⁰⁴

However, who is responsible for the revision? Based on what criteria? How to get the agreement among the people in the city? The listing of the distinctive scenes in modern Guangzhou may grant us insights to the answers. In recent decades the list has been revised three times: 1962, 1985 and 1996. All of them have involved extensively the general public's participation in the listing process. The first modern list was generated in 1962 with the help from an evening paper Yangcheng Wanbao 羊城晚报. A public vote was organized to elect the distinctive scenes in Guangzhou based on three criteria:

1. It should reflect the spirit of the place and the spirit of the epoch;
2. It should have visual beauty that was popularly appreciated by the public;
3. It should have a poetic title with sonorous pronunciation.

¹⁰⁴ The list of distinctive scenes was revised during the Yuan Dynasty. Only four scenes from the Song list were kept, while the remaining four were replaced by new ones. The list was further revised in the Ming and Qing Dynasty respectively. The list in these two dynasties were completely different from the previous one.

The organizing committee received over six thousands ballots which showed the public's passion in selecting the distinctive scenes in their city. Finally, eight scenes were elected and formed the first modern Yangcheng Ba Jing. Later in 1985, the list was updated by the second election – which again involved extensively the public's participation.¹⁰⁵

In 1996, the Guangzhou Tourism Bureau organized the third election with the aim to promote the city's tourism. No longer called the Yangcheng Ba Jing election, the campaign this time aimed at identifying the ten greatest touristic attractions in Guangzhou. The ten scenic spots elected ranged from natural landscapes such as the Mt. Baiyun 白雲山 and Mr. Lotus 蓮花山, and historic artifacts such as the Ancestral Temple of Chen Family 陳家祠 and Sun Yatsen Memorial Hall 中山紀念堂, to contemporary places such as the Flying-dragon Theme Park 飛龍世界.

The depiction of the list

Curiously, the poetic title is one of the four components that constitute the distinctive scenes. “A poetic title with sonorous pronunciation” is also a criterion in selecting the modern Yangcheng Ba Jing. However, what is the importance for the title to the distinctive scenes? When we trace back to the first list of distinctive scenes in China, the Xiaoxiang Ba Jing, we found that the scenes are made famous after they are depicted by the text composed by Mi Fu and the painting drawn by Song Di. This shows that people are aware of the scenes only after they are extracted into readable forms: the text and the paintings. The distinctive scenes

¹⁰⁵ In 1985, the second Yangcheng Ba Jing election was organized by the daily paper Guangzhou Ribao 廣州日報, with the great support from the People's Government of Guangzhou. They received over seven hundred nominations on seventy-four scenes. From the nominations, the committee finally selected eight scenes and generated the second modern list of Yangcheng Ba Jing.

help encode the landscape and the place, while the text and paintings help encode the distinctive scene.

Text is an indispensable medium in depicting the distinctive scenes in the city. From reading the title – only four Chinese words - people can project the images of the scenes. This is the magic of the text, for it allows room for people to imagine and interpret the scenes depicted. Besides, the scenes are sometimes followed by poems, such as what Mi Fu inscribed for the Xiaoxiang Ba Jing. In Leizhou, for example, poems are inscribed and marked on site to depict each specific scene (Fig. 3.14).

A mutual relationship hence developed - people are attracted to the scenes after they are listed and remarked by the texts. In return they write poems to express their admiration to the distinctive scenes after their visits. This happens to the scene *Feng Hu Yu Chang* 豐湖漁唱 in Huizhou. The scene narrates the scenario in the West Lake. Meanwhile, as fishermen are working, they sing on their fishing rafts. Several poets interpreted the same scenario into different readings. The Huizhou magistrate during the Qing Dynasty, Wu Jian 吳騫 for example, composed a poem titled after the scene,

“Sing without musical instrument,
Accompanying only the weak sound of the running water.
With fishes caught, we buy wine and we sing loud,
Though sound of scripture spread from the surrounding temples,
Not as many as the fishermen’s sweet songs.”

清唱遙傳湖水波，得魚沽酒且高歌。
四邊也有禪林梵，不及漁家天籟多。

Another poem, employed the same title *Feng Hu Yu Chang* 豐湖漁唱, was written by the Qing poet Yao Tang,

“Next to the island, the little boat,

Singing to the night wind,
 Moving to and fro in the reed's shadow,
 Intermittently under the clear moonlight.
 If I am pleased, I collect the fish net,
 Forget about the waver, I turn the canvas at my will,
 A sound ai-nai-ba,¹⁰⁶
 Marked my solitude in the boundless sea.”

小艇依寒渚，清詞向晚風。
 往來蘆影間，斷續月明中。
 得意閑收網，忘機任轉蓬。
 一聲欸乃罷，獨坐海天空。

These two poems, though bearing the same title, represent two different readings of the same scene. Though the scene *Feng Hu Yu Chang* 豐湖漁唱 has today disappeared, through the poems people can still project their imaginations about the lost-scenery. The collective memory to the old scenario on the West Lake can therefore be retrieved and sustained to the future.

On the contrary, a scene may also be recognized on the basis of someone depicted it in text. Through their writings, the poets help the public to identify the attractive scenes in the city. The poet Wu Jian appreciated greatly the night-view along the embankment Su Ti 蘇堤 - from that place people could appreciate the reflected image of the moon on the West Lake. He therefore composed the poem *Su Ti Wan Yue* 蘇堤玩月 (Playing with the moon on the embankment Su Ti),

“The moon overflowed from the boundless water,
 Standing at the long and long Su Ti,
 Many people boast they could see the moon through the telescope,
 Didn't they aware that the moon was full only here?”
 茫茫水月浸湖天，人在蘇堤萬頃邊。
 多少管窺誇見月，可知月在此間圓。

¹⁰⁶ The sound that created by the stroke hitting the lake water.

The poem *Su Ti Wan Yue* 蘇堤玩月 later had led to the listing of the scene titled after it. It helped people to discover and be aware of the beauty of the landscape and the place.

Though not as common as the text, the landscape painting is another effective medium to depict the distinctive scenes in imperial Guangdong. In many Guangdong cities, people illustrated the distinctive scenes in paintings, such as the famous Yangcheng Ba Jing, which was drawn and carved into wooden block prints for mass publications (Fig. 3.15). The paintings provide people with vivid visualizations of the scenes, and serve as valuable records for later generations like us to remember the past. Recorded in *Xihu Jisheng* 西湖紀勝, the landscape painting *Xihu Quantu* 西湖全圖 (The panorama of the West Lake) adds more information (Fig. 3.16). The scroll not only records the landscape setting of the West Lake in Huizhou, it also help us to locate the relative position of the distinctive scenes dispersed around the lake area. As a supplement to the scroll, each distinctive scene is followed by an individual painting (Fig. 3.17).

The text and the paintings are not merely depictions of the distinctive scenes. In fact, they serve two additional roles: first, they are readable form of the distinctive scenes; and second, they are a communicable form for people to learn and discuss the scenes. However, as time changes, new forms of visualization and communication are emerging today. The relative positioning of the scenes is now presented in a touristic map. Photographs have replaced the landscape paintings to provide better visualization of the distinctive scenes, for better encoding will lead to better retrieval of memory. In many Guangdong cities, such as Huizhou and Chaozhou, the local government even posts the list of distinctive scenes on the Internet as propaganda about the city's tourism (Fig. 3.18). The Internet has greatly enhanced the spreading of the distinctive scenes, for people everywhere

can learn about them in spite of their differences in geographic locations. It is also a powerful tool to communicate with the public. The Huizhou government, for example, has created a public forum on the Internet to collect opinions about the current revitalization plan of the West Lake – where the distinctive scenes of Huizhou are centered (Fig. 3.19). Since the Guangzhou Ba Jing election this has been a big step forward to involve the public participation.

The Cantonese are keen on protecting the distinctive scene in their cities because they are major attractions to the tourists today. From studying the distinctive scenes, we discover that the content of the list and the ways of depiction are all evolving with time. Being able to reflect the “spirit of the epoch” is also one of the criteria in selecting the modern Yangcheng Ba Jing. These all reflect that the Cantonese adopt a dynamic approach in protecting distinctive scenes. Just as they prefer to reuse the historic artifacts, so too the Cantonese do not or cannot freeze the image of their cities (the scenes) from propelling urban developments.

惠州府志卷之二
輿地

形勝

惠州古名崇化。是龍川。晉寧。唐博羅。宋亦稱東莞。縣存東江。北瀕老遠江。頭設負導其前。縣存據其後。龍川水一泓會爲江。而環英左橫桂崖。則二源並爲明而發共右。五嶺東南別山南海北數一大郡也。昔人謂漢之名區越之丘野。詳諸志。

追尋於野干。兵革諸名郡皆將赴陳列峙屏垣廣澤浚江汪汴周旋披都曰。詰善艦在隔水。仰石埭時遊湖東南有海港。置平海所。爲外番西北博羅西廣縣存。軍數

惠州府志卷之三 輿地形勝

海豐鎮江格溪頭駐左右千總營。勝甲於天南矣。東曰千捷勝。二所塢更強焉。北長官兒曲雄峙。溪山勝秀。永安雄鎮。翠江鐵騎。勝東北河源桂山卸屏接江爲雷龍川。登山崑峰互爲標幟。向水回江蛇蟠衆壘。逐衝之故。攷炮陀之遺風。也和乎平原固廣農穡壯盛通衢北章貢石礮石爲九連萬山之保障。底基趙彭原之大畧也。

附府治曰。時善縣石名爲欣榮。負第大之烈要衝之食臺山基布雙江合流北挽象頭橋經優秀南畔天馬榜山。星祥西湖漲落嶺道鎮嶺。允稱首邑大觀矣。

(Fig. 3.12) The gazetteer *Huizhou Fuzhi* documented the list of distinctive scenes in all its county seats respectively.

翠夕坡黃



晴春陌紫



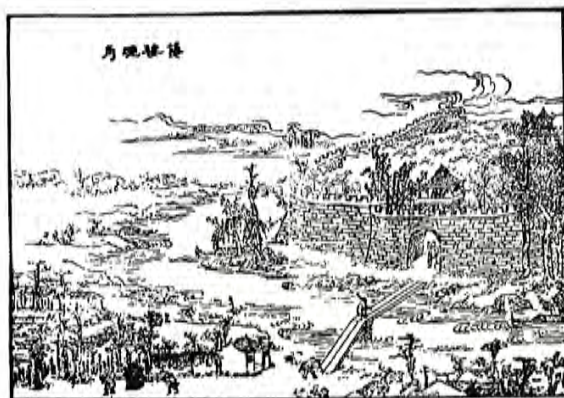
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歌漁浦南



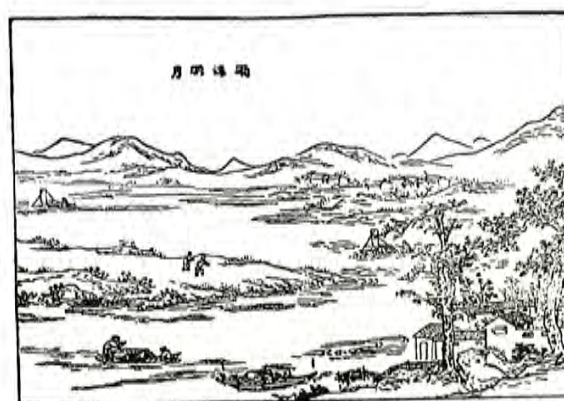
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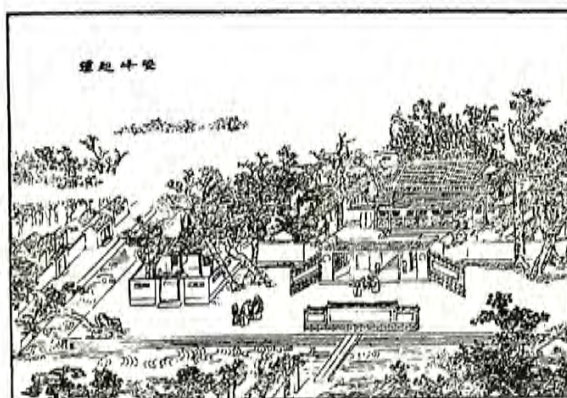
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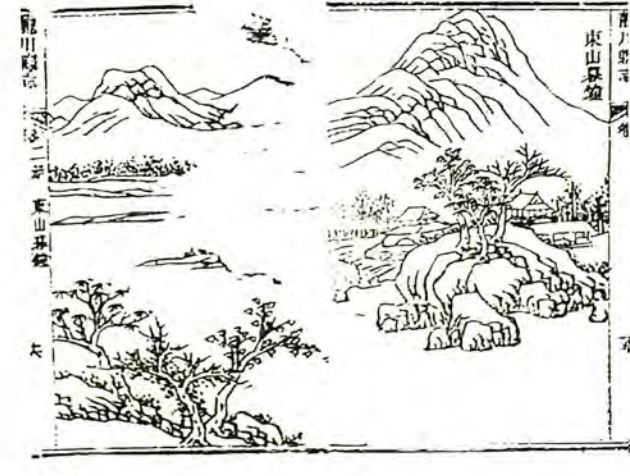
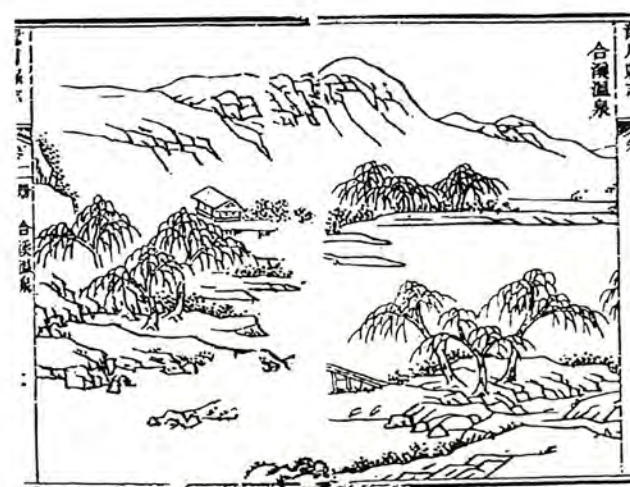
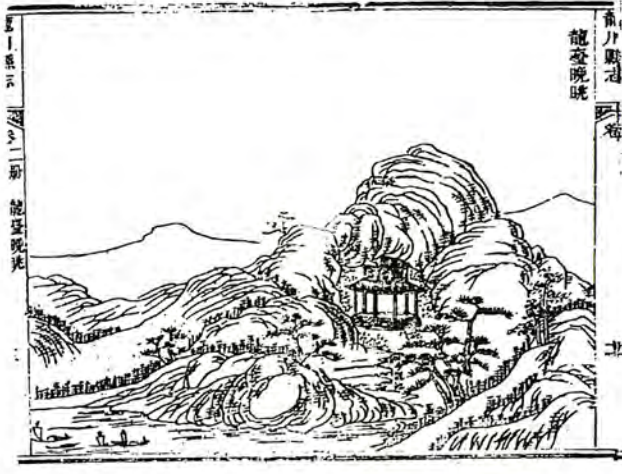
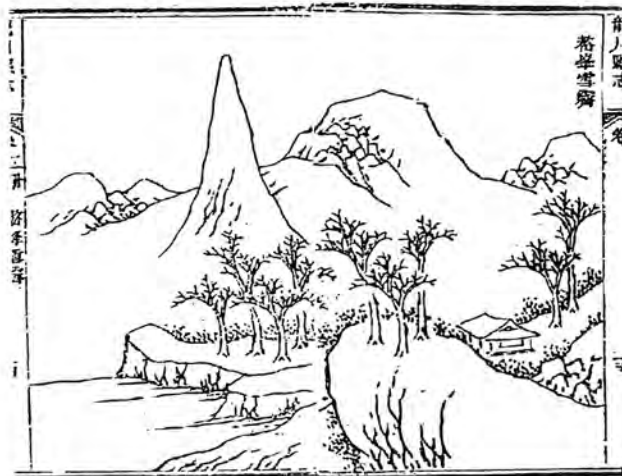
月明溪雨



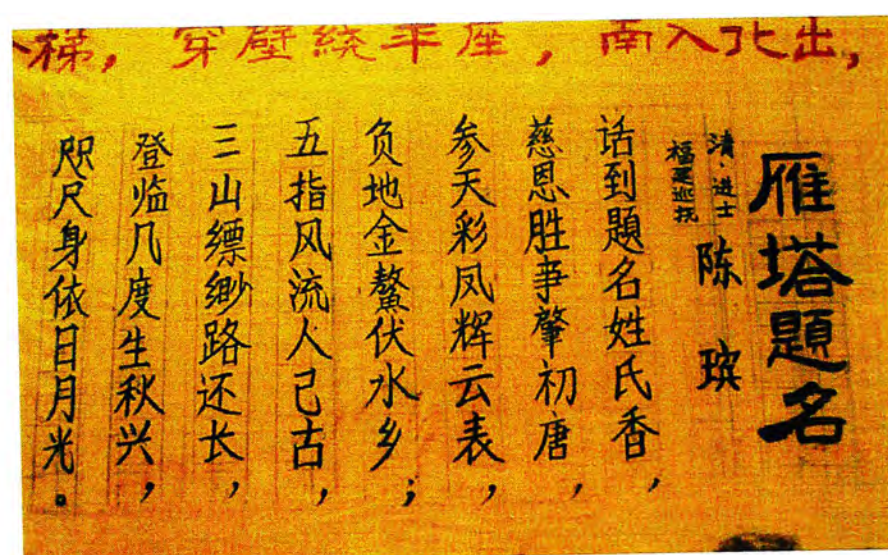
鐘晚峰雙



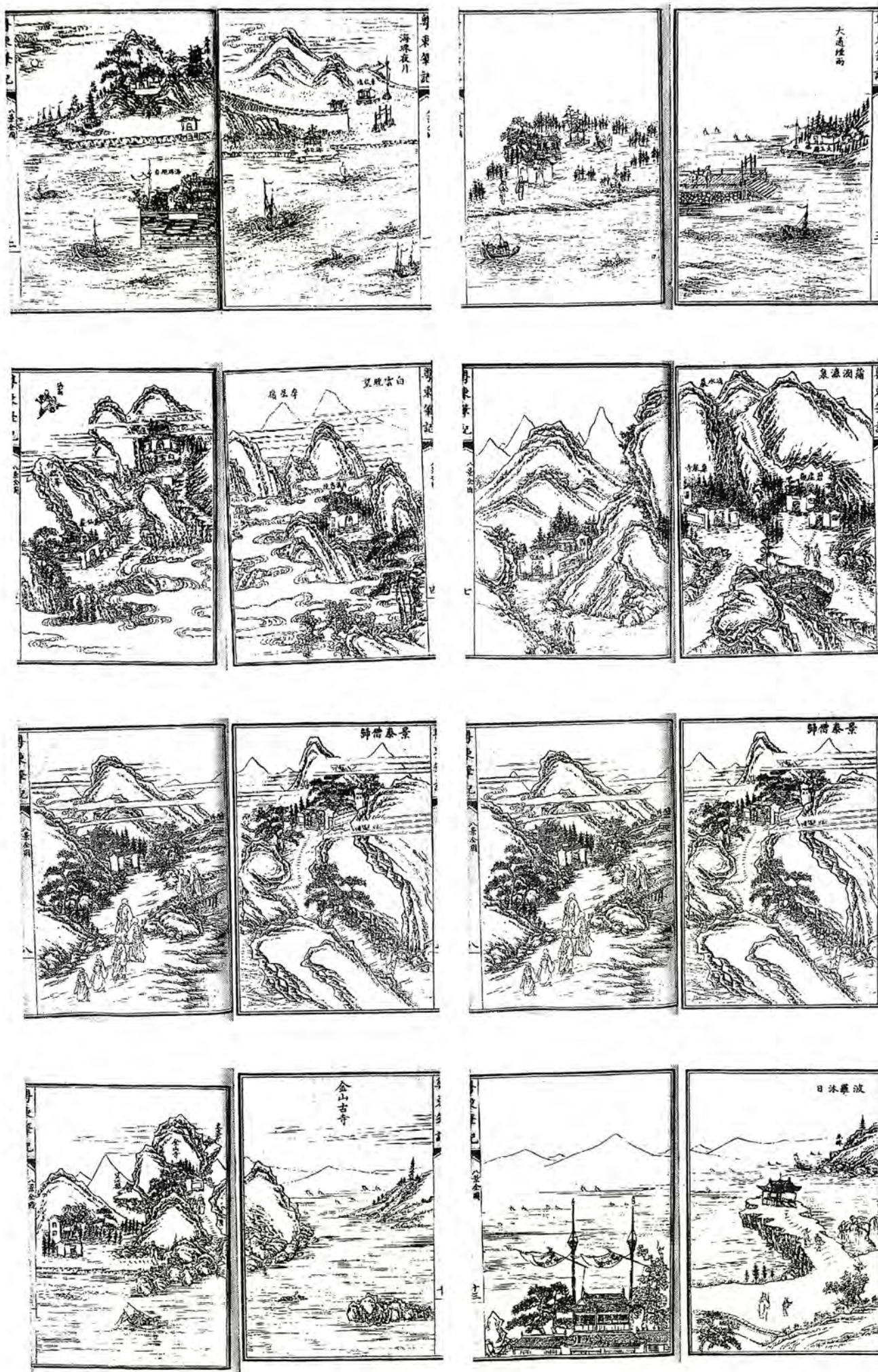
(Fig. 3.13a) The eight distinctive scenes of Jieyang County as illustrated in its gazetteer.



(Fig. 3.13b) The eight distinctive scenes of Tuocheng County as illustrated in its gazetteer.



(Fig. 3.14) Poem is composed to depict the distinctive scenes in Leizhou.



(Fig. 3.15) Wooden block printings of the famous Yangcheng Ba Jing of Guangzhou.



(Fig. 3.16) The landscape painting *Xihu Quantu* recorded in the *Xihu Jisheng* showed the relative position of the distinctive scenes on the West Lake of Huizhou.



(Fig. 3.17) Each distinctive scene recorded on the *Xihu Quantu* is followed by an individual landscape painting, textual descriptions and a poem.



(Fig. 3.19) A public forum is held on the Internet by the Huizhou Planning Bureau to collect public opinions on the revitalization of the West Lake.

3.2 TEXT: THE HIGHLIGHT OF THE CITY'S CHARACTERS

Eventually, from the analysis of the distinctive scenes, we cannot avoid coming to the discussion of the text. The scene is the memory cue that helps to encode and memorize the landscape and the place, and it is further extracted into the text, which is a readable form that depicts and highlights its distinctiveness. The causality of the text and the scene have been illustrated previously. Here we will hence focus on those texts that crystallized the distinctiveness of the city.

Text occupies immense importance in Chinese culture. Unlike in Western culture, where people build magnificent structures such as Triumphal Arches and pyramids as memorials, the Chinese instead inscribe texts on tablets to memorize special events (Fig. 3.20). In Imperial China, text is also the official medium to document the city.¹⁰⁷ Despite of its diversified meanings, text, if applies to the city, serves as an intangible memory cue that indicates specific place and highlights its characters.

Text as indication

The most basic yet significant function of the text is to indicate a targeted item. Among all kind of texts, the “name 名” is the simplest and direct form that can achieve this task. “Naming” the item with text is crucial to our communication because it provides us a common ground for discussions. It is also an effective cue in retrieving our memories: we start to recall a person, a place or an object when someone mentions its name. Then, we are able to recall the details associated with that name – the story

¹⁰⁷ Textual records on the city are mainly concentrated in three areas: its history, geography, and customs. The gazetteer – the provincial gazetteer *Tongzhi* 通志, the prefectural gazetteer *Fuzhi* 府志 and the county gazetteer *Xianzhi* 縣志 - is the most informative and detailed record onto one particular city. Other textual materials, such as the historic record *Tongshi* 通史, geographical record *De Li Zhi* 地理志, also help people in understanding the city. There are also some significant historic text related to Guangdong, such as *Ling Baio Lu Yi* 嶺表錄異, *Yue Da Ji* 粵大記, *Guangdong Xin Yu* 廣東新語, *Yangcheng Gu Chao* 羊城古鈔, etc.

about the person, our experience in that place or the appearance of that object. The high associative strength of the name has made it the most powerful retrieval cue.

When the Chinese name a place, they are not merely creating a symbol that indicates a specific site or location. Rather, the place's name usually has embedded meanings. Some of the names reflect the place's geographical settings and natural environment, such as the ancient name of Guangdong – Lingnan 嶺南 – which describes the region's southern location to the mountain range. Or the name reflects the people's wishes about the place. Song Emperor Huizong 徽宗, for example, granted the name “Zhaoqing 肇慶” to the city Duanzhou 端州 that once under his governance when he was still the crown prince. The name Zhaoqing in Chinese means “incurring happiness”, which is the emperor's blessing and wish to the city. People usually encode these kinds of names better than simply for indication, for they involve the understanding of meanings behind the apparent text.

Once a name is used to indicate a place, unless under special circumstance (such as the change of the name from Duanzhou to Zhaoqing, discussed previously), it usually persists through time. (It is a great permanence in the city, if using Aldo Rossi's definition.) It becomes a ritual for the people to associate a specific name to a specific place, and such high associative strength and encoding specificity of the name has led to effective memory retrieval.

Text as highlights of the place's characters

Beside the official name that indicates a specific place, in most Guangdong cities, there are side-names or titles that highlight their distinctiveness (Table 3.2). Chaozhou, for example, is entitled “Haibin Zoulu 海濱鄒魯” by the local people, which mean “the coastal city with high civilization.” This is because in ancient time, disgraced officials were exiled to Chaozhou - a place that was considered as remote and barbaric by the

mainland Chinese. These exiled officials, including the great Tang literati Han Yu 韓愈, brought in knowledge to the city and established many academies for the local communities. This helped the city to gain the title “Haibin Zoulu 海濱鄒魯” in Guangdong.

The prominent location of Leizhou, on the other hand, helps the city to attain the title “Tiannan Zhongdi 天南重地” - the “important land in the southerly edge.” Leizhou was the only prefectural capital in the whole Leizhou Peninsula in the late imperial period. It was also the most southerly prefectural capital in the whole of China. Due to this prominent location, it was always the political, economical and cultural centre in the peninsula, and therefore gained the title “Tiannan Zhongdi 天南重地” (Fig. 3.21).

These side-names are effective in retrieving people’s memory as they specifically encoded the distinctiveness of the cities. And the most important point is, they are sometimes generated by the common people and have reflected their collective memories to the cities. Beside these side-names, there are also many non-orthodox texts generated by the common people and widely spread in the vernacular stratum, including the old sayings, proverbs, or extractions from literature and poetry. For example, the widely spread saying in Guangzhou, “Dong Cun, Xi Qiao, Nan Fu, Bei Pin 東村西俏南富北貧”, has described the city’s zoning perceived by the locals. Using only eight simple Chinese words, the saying successfully grasps the special characters in different parts of Guangzhou,

“The east located villages,
The west located brothels.
The wealthy live in the south;
The poor live in the north.”

Another local proverb has highlighted the high defensibility of Huizhou, by

saying that the city will remain peaceful even though the whole world is in warfare,

“As secure as a chained boat,
 As free as a swimming swam,
 Though the whole world is in warfare,
 This place will remain peace forever.”

鐵鏈鎖孤舟，浮鵝水上游。
 任憑天下亂，此地永無憂。

These non-orthodox texts are easy to remember because they captured the city’s most outstanding characters as perceived by the common people. In addition, since they are usually written in simple texts and structured in rhyme, they can be widely spread in the society and reached those uneducated people who are common in old Guangdong.

Name	Side name	Meaning
Guangdong 廣東	Lingnan 嶺南	South of the mountain range
Guangzhou 廣州	Yangcheng 羊城	City of Goat
Chaozhou 潮州	Haibin Zoulu 海濱鄒魯	Coastal city of high civilization
Zhaoqing 肇慶		Incurring happiness
Huizhou 惠州	Yuedong Zhongzhen 粵東重鎮	City occupying strategic importance in eastern Guangdong
Leizhou 雷州	Tiannan Zhongdi 天南重地	Important land in the southerly edge

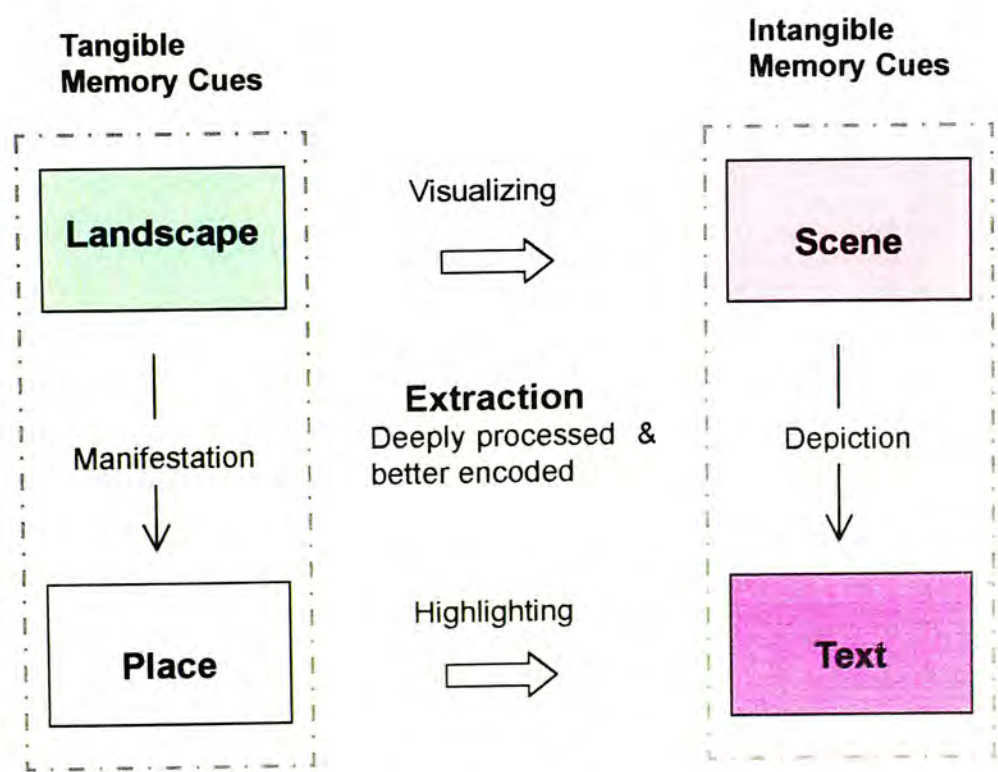
(Table 3.2) Meaning of the names and side names of Guangdong cities.

SUMMARY

Tangible Memory Cue	Landscape	Pre-existed natural environment	“Xing Sheng” - landscape setting “ShanShui” - Natural elements
	Place	Pre-existed physical environment that carries spirits	Site, area, buildings together with associated contents and surrounds
Intangible Memory Cue	Scene	Post-existed visualized form	“Ming Jing” – list of distinctive scenes
	Text	Post-existed readable form	Text as indications and highlights of city characters

(Table 3.3) The nature of the effective memory cues in Guangdong.

From the tangible memory cues (landscape and place) we are able to devise those intangible ones (scene and text) (Table 3.3). The intangible memory cues are deeply processed and better encoded as they involve the extraction and understanding of meanings behind the tangible forms (Fig. 3.22).

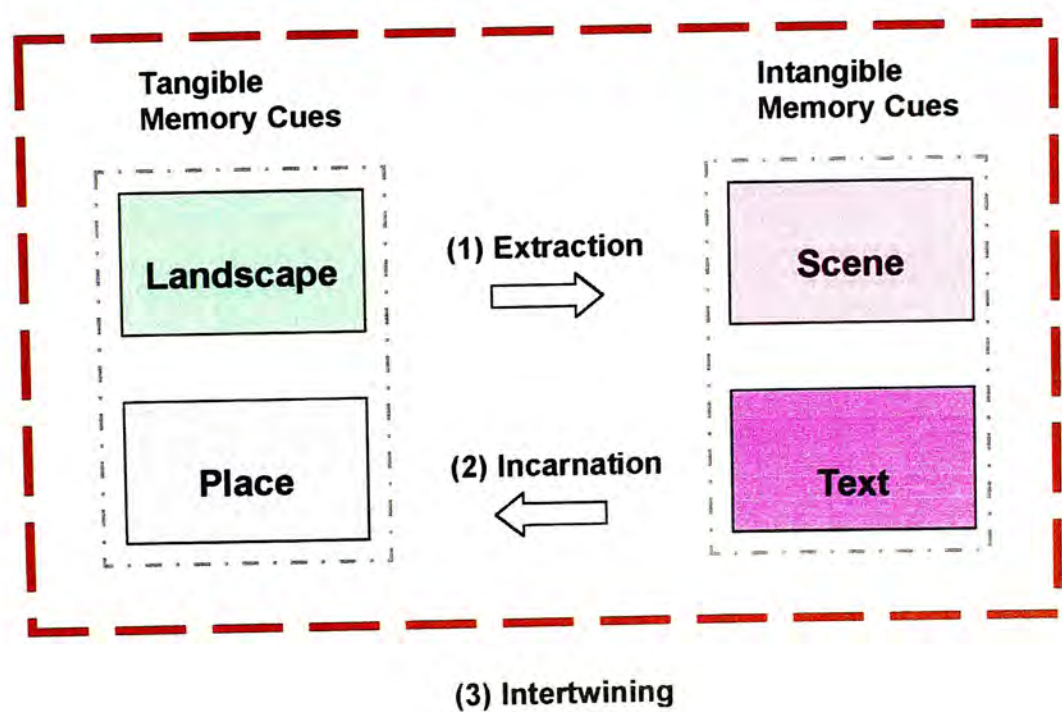


(Fig. 3.22) The extraction from tangible memory cues to intangible ones.

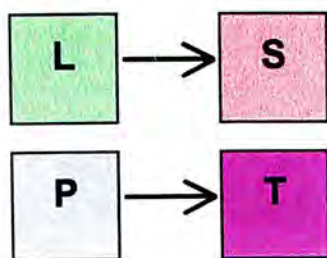
Just as the scenes visualized the landscape and the place, the text highlighted the distinctiveness of the landscape and place. These four effective memory cues, either tangible or intangible, are all important in retrieving the collective memory of Guangdong cities.

Recreating the relationships between the tangible memory cues and the intangible one

The tangible and intangible memory cues in Guangdong cities are indispensable to each other. Therefore, to sustain the collective memory, we should ensure the continuous provisions of these effective memory cues in the city and maintain their inter-relationships. In other words, the essence for revitalizing the effective memory cues is to recreate and reinforce the relationships between them (Fig. 3.23):



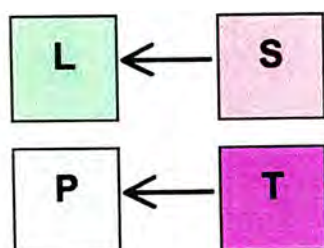
(Fig. 3.23) Re-establishing three types of relationship between the tangible and intangible memory cues.



1. Extracting tangible memory cues to intangible ones.

The tangible heritage only attains their true significance when they shed light on their underlying values.¹⁰⁸

Therefore, to allow better encoding and deeper processing, we should extract the tangible memory cues into the intangible ones which involve the understanding of meanings and values. The listing of the distinctive scenes, the naming of places, the highlighting of city characters and the generation of sayings are good examples of extraction. Learning from the Yangcheng Ba Jing elections in Guangzhou, we discover the advantages for involving the public in the extraction process, because this allows the generation and reinforcement of collective memories. New ways of extraction that reflect the spirit of the epoch, such as the use of Internet, should also be explored too.

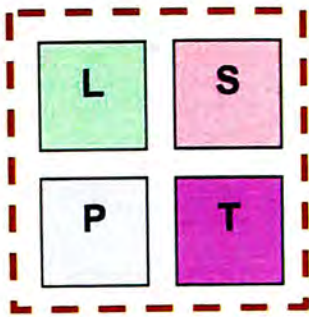


2. Incarnating intangible memory cues to tangible ones.

The intangible heritage must be made incarnate into tangible manifestations, in visible signs, if it was to be conserved.¹⁰⁹ Since the intangible memory cues are deeply processed and better encoded, they provide good reference that reflects what have stored in people's collective memory to their city. If they can be incarnated into tangible form, then the immaterial distinctive characters of the city can be manifested into the physical environment.

¹⁰⁸ Jean-Louis Luxen, "The Intangible Dimension of Monuments and Sites: with reference to the UNESCO World Heritage List", at http://www.international.icomos.org/luxen_eng.htm.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.



3. Enhancing the intertwining of memory cues.

In most of the cases, the effective memory cues, either tangible or intangible, are not existed in the city in discrete manner. They intertwined with each other in the city and form multiple-cues that have stronger retrieval power. We should therefore enhance the intertwining of the effective memory cues, and identify those intertwined ones for conservation.



(Fig. 3.20) The Chinese inscribe text on the tablet to memorize the Confucius. By entitled him as the teacher that influenced ten-thousand generations, people are able to recall his life and his contributions to Chinese culture.



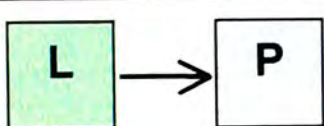
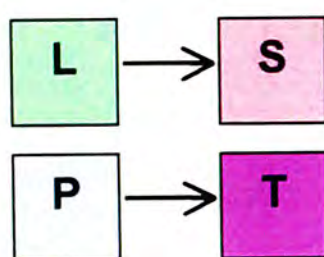
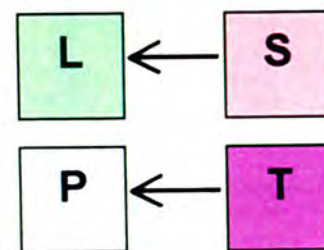
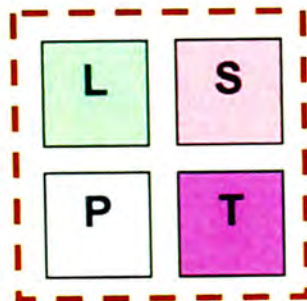


(Fig. 3.21) The side-name of Leizhou can be seen commonly in the city.

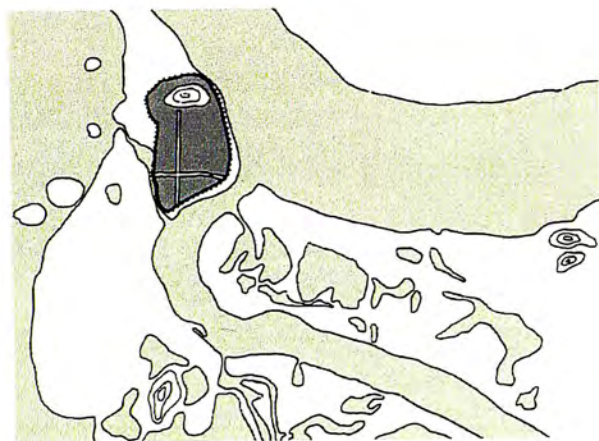
CHAPTER FOUR: THE INTER-RELATIONSHIPS OF THE MEMORY CUES IN HUIZHOU

To explore how the effective memory cues exist and exert their influences in one particular Guangdong cities, Huizhou 惠州 is selected for illustration. The choice of the city is based on two reasons: firstly, Huizhou is a unique example that captured most of the special characters of Guangdong cities (which will be illustrated later in this chapter); secondly, Huizhou is a city lacking of historic monuments. No historic artifact in Huizhou has been listed as either a national level or a provincial level protected monument. It therefore allows us to develop the conservation strategy beyond monument protection, which is a major task in this thesis.

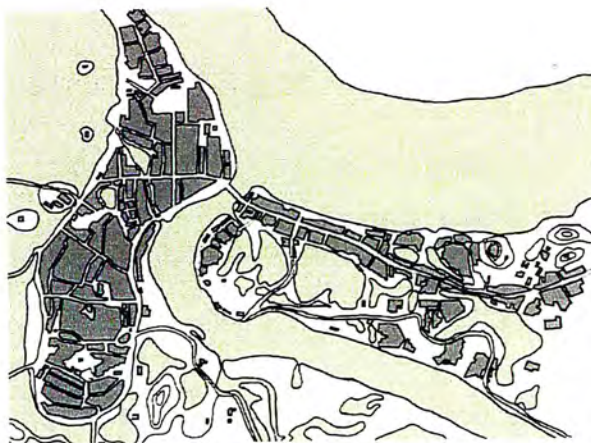
We will investigate various kinds of inter-relationships of the effective memory cues in Huizhou, as shown in Table 4.1. It will begin by the effect of landscape in shaping the development and physical form of Huizhou, and how this physical form was manifested into places that carry spirit in the city. Then, we will look into the ways that Huizhou people extract these intangible elements from tangible memory cues, the text and the scenes. And in reverse, how these intangible cues incarnate into tangible forms for conservation. Finally, we will identify the strongest cue that results from the intertwining of effective memory cues in Huizhou. Throughout the focus will be on how these memory cues affect each other and work coherently in retrieving people's collective memory about their city.

	<p>4.1 Huizhou – a city evolved with the landscape</p>
	<p>4.2 City planning of Huizhou as shaped by the landscape</p>
	<p>4.3 Manifesting landscape into place: the maintaining of the spirit of the place in Huizhou inner city</p>
	<p>4.4 Extracting tangible memory cues to intangible ones: texts & scenes on the West Lake</p>
	<p>4.5 Incarnating intangible memory cues to tangible ones: the formation of new places</p>
	<p>4.6 The intertwining of effective memory cues: the Lake-City-River Relationships</p>

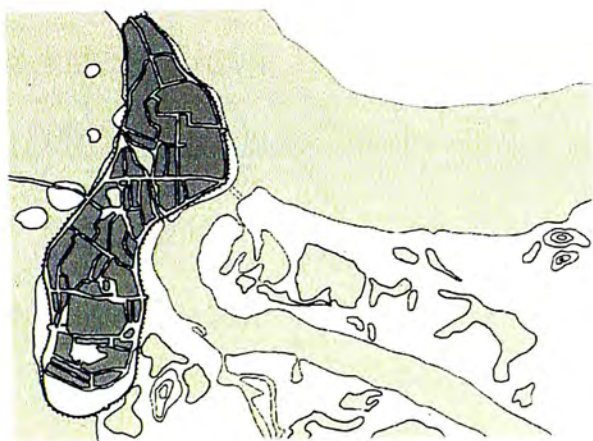
(Table 4.1) Inter-relationship between the memory cues in Huizhou.



Song Dynasty



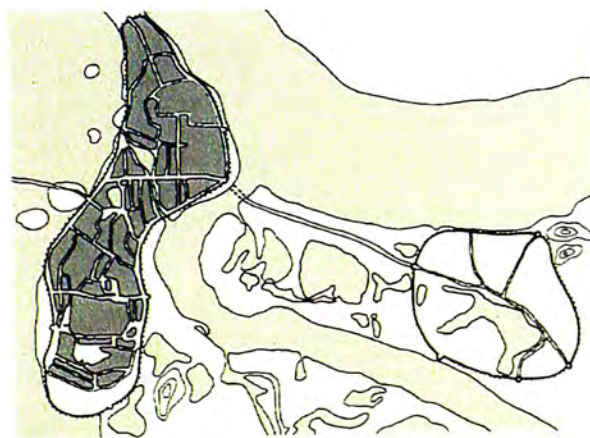
Mingguo Period (wall demolished)



Ming Dynasty before expansion



Present



Ming Dynasty after expansion

(Plate 10) The evolution of Huizhou.

4.1 HUIZHOU: A CITY EVOLVE WITH THE LANDSCAPE

Huizhou in the region

As has been shown above, the socio-economic development of Guangdong owe a great deal to its promising geographical location and characteristic landscape settings. Huizhou, a riverine city in eastern Guangdong, shares the same development pattern. If text is the memory cue that crystallizes a city's characters, the side-names of Huizhou immediately lead us to recall its special importance to eastern Guangdong. Being named as "Yuedong Zhongzhen 粵東重鎮" (Major city in eastern Guangdong), "Lingnan Mingjun 嶺南名郡" (Famous prefecture in South China), "Yuedong Menhu 粵東門戶" (Gate to eastern Guangdong) and "Nan Zhongguo Diyi Tianxian 南中國第一天險" (Number one natural defensive barrier in south China), Huizhou is famous for its strategic location and prominent landscape setting. These two major distinctions are described in the country's geographical record *Fangyu Jiyao* 方輿紀要,

"To its east the long coast; to its west the Gan Mountain.
It controls the entrance to the Chaozhou and Meizhou areas.
It helps develop the surrounding cities in the region.
Facing the great ocean and embracing by the mountain ranges.
It is deserved the title of 'famous prefecture in Lingnam'."
東接長汀，北連贛嶺，
控潮梅之襟要，壯廣南之輔邑。
大海橫陳，群山擁後，
誠嶺南之名郡也。

Today, Huizhou is the regional capital of the Huizhou Municipality 惠州市 (Fig.4.11).¹¹⁰ It is situated at the northeastern corner of the enlarged Pearl River Delta Open Economic Zone. It enjoys a promising location close to both the provincial

¹¹⁰ For clarification, the name "Huizhou" in this thesis denotes the regional capital city, while "Huizhou Municipality 惠州市" denotes the whole metropolitan region formed by the capital Huizhou, Huidong County 惠東縣, Huiyang County 惠陽縣, Boluo County 博羅縣 and Longmen County 龍門縣.

capital Guangzhou and the Special Economic Zone Shenzhen (Fig. 4.12).¹¹¹ Located along the Dong River, Huizhou is also the political, economic and cultural centre in the Dong River Basin. The riverine location provides easy accessibility to the city and allows it to overlook the major route along the river valley. Huizhou therefore has become an important traffic interchange from the Pearl River Delta to the Chaozhou and Meizhou areas farther to the east. And since it is located at the place where the three ethnic groups in Guangdong meet, a unique hybrid culture has evolved among the Guangfu 廣府, Fulao 福佬 and Hakka 客家 people.¹¹²

Situated at the delta, along the river, in the basin and overlooking the valley - Huizhou's promising location is closely related to its landscape. Besides granting the city easy accessibility, the prominent landscape setting also helps Huizhou to achieve high defensibility. Well known as "Nan Zhongguo Diyi Tianxian 南中國第一天險" (Number one natural defensive barrier in south China), Huizhou is protected by its distinctive landscape setting: it is located beside the West Lake and at a place where the Xizhi River 西枝江 joins the Dong River 東江 (Fig. 4.13). These three water bodies form a natural defensive barrier around Huizhou.¹¹³ In addition, they have also contributed significantly to the economic development of today's Huizhou: the West

¹¹¹ The Pearl River Delta Open Economic Zone was founded in February 1985. It includes the municipalities of Jiangmen, Zhongshan, Dongguan, and Foshan, and the four counties Doumen, Baoan, Zengcheng and Panyu. They are given greater autonomy to approve foreign investment. This area is generally called the "Small Delta".

In December 1987, the zone further enlarged to include the Huizhou Municipality and Foshan Municipality. The enlarged zone is generally called as the "Big Delta".

¹¹² Guangdong is dominated by three main ethnic groups settled at different regions in the province. The Guangfu people settles mainly in the Pearl River Delta; the Fulao people settles along the coast of eastern Guangdong and Leizhou Peninsula; while the Hakka people settles at the mountainous areas close to the Dong River and Mei River basin. Huizhou, coincidentally, located at the place where these three regions meet.

¹¹³ An old saying reflects how proud Huizhou people are because of the city's military importance:
"As secure as a chained boat, as free as a swimming swam,
Though the whole world is in warfare, this place will remain peace forever."
鐵鏈鎖孤舟，浮鵝水上游，
任憑天下亂，此地永無憂。

Lake is now the municipality's major tourist attraction, while the Dong River supplies fresh water to Hong Kong and brings in attractive incomes.

Evolution of Huizhou

Since its formation in the Sui Dynasty (590 A.D.), Huizhou has historically employed different names, such as Lianghua 梁化, Xunzhou 循州, Longchuan 龍川 and Zhenzhou 禪州.¹¹⁴ The first walled city in Huizhou was constructed in the Song Dynasty, a period when Guangdong's urban development first reached its peak. Sited at the Tu Hill and overlooking the Dong River, the small walled city was orthogonal in shape, with four city gates opened to the four cardinal directions and linked by a crossroad (Fig. 4.14).

The land surrounded by the walled city is dominated by numerous lakes, ponds and low-lying grounds. However, the ancient Huizhou people intelligently turned the unfavorable natural environment into a beneficial one. The construction of the West Lake in 1068 A.D. was an urban project immensely significant to Huizhou's urban history. The Song government led the peasants to recondition those water bodies at the west of the city into a man-made reservoir.¹¹⁵ They constructed embankments to store water and diverted it for irrigation. This made the originally abandoned water bodies benefit the city's agricultural productions.¹¹⁶ At the same time, they built

¹¹⁴ In the fifth year of the Tianxi reign of the Song Dynasty (1020 A.D.), the government changed the city's name Zhenzhou 禪州 into Huizhou to avoid using the same name Zhen 禪 as the crown prince of the empire. Huizhou hence became the name of the city until today.

¹¹⁵ The West Lake was only a group of water bodies before the Song Dynasty. It was formed by several low-lying grounds and ponds at the confluence of the Dong River and Xizhi River. Since there was no proper protecting embankment provided to the lake, it was incapable to store water and the lake dried out easily. Therefore, in 1068 A.D., the magistrate Zhen Chen 陳侗 commanded the reconditioning of the West Lake.

¹¹⁶ The Huizhou people sometimes call the West Lake as "Fenghu 豐湖" - the "Lake of Richness" - for it helps their agricultural production.

winding paths, pavilions, arched bridges and lotus ponds around the lake area, which turned the West Lake into a major leisure and scenic spot, a situation which persists to this day.

The urban landscape of Huizhou changed dramatically during the late imperial period. In the Ming Dynasty (1370 A.D.), when Huizhou became the capital of the prefecture Huizhou Fu 惠州府,¹¹⁷ the magistrate Wan Di 萬廸 expanded the walled city to its south at a site bordered by the Xizhi River and the West Lake (Fig. 4.15).¹¹⁸ The lake Ehu 鵝湖 was being internalized into a canal passing through the city, where the flooded water from the West Lake discharged to the Xizhi River. The canal formed a water-linkage between the lake and the river. The water gates on the Bi Shui Guan 碧水關 and the Clock Towers 鐘樓 controlled the flow of the water between these three water bodies (Fig. 4.16). Besides the Ehu 鵝湖, there were numerous bodies of water such as ponds and low-lying grounds inside the city area, including the Xiushuihu 秀水湖.

Once again in 1566 A.D., the Ming city expanded under the request of its people.¹¹⁹ Instead of further extending the prefectural capital, a new city was constructed at a separated site across the Xizhi River to house the common people

¹¹⁷ The prefectural capital performed several administrative functions. It helped the provinces to collect taxes, keep order, and coordinate the counties that were too numerous and distant for the province to manage directly.

Ezra F. Vogel, *One step ahead in China: Guangdong under reform* (Cambridge, Mass. and London, England: Harvard University Press, 1989), 247.

¹¹⁸ The perimeter of the city wall was expanded to 1255 zhang 丈. The 1.8 zhang high city wall had seven gates: the East Gate Huiyang 東門惠陽, South Gate Henggang 南門橫岡, West Gate Xihu 西門西湖, North Gate Chaojing 北門朝京, Small-East Gate Hejiang 小東門合江, Small-West Gate Dongsheng 小西門東昇, and the Watergate Guiyuan 水門會源.

¹¹⁹ As recorded in the gazetteer *Huizhou Fuzhi* 惠州府志 written in the Qing Dynasty, the new city was constructed under the request of a student called Liu Que 劉確 and other peasants for the housing the common people. However, no information can be found explaining why they made such a request, or why the government would answer the request. However, probably this was due to an increase in population.

(Fig.4.17)¹²⁰ However, in 1578 A.D., the county seat Guishan 歸善縣 was relocated to this common people's city.¹²¹ This created a "One city - two enclosures 一城兩池" format rarely seen in China and abnormal to the usual administrative pattern (Fig. 4.18).¹²² The twin cities and the water bodies were developed coherently. They were connected by the floating bridge Dongxin Qiao 東新橋 across the Xizhi River, where prosperous commercial activities were developed.¹²³

After the fall of the imperial era, Huizhou was remade by many significant urban constructions in the Minguo period. Since 1925, most of the city wall and gates in both the twin cities have been gradually demolished, under the trends of wall-demolition in Guangdong and catalyzed by the "East expedition 東征" of the nationalist army.¹²⁴ Only a small portion of the wall along the present Shangmi Street 上米街 and Binjiang Road 濱江路 remain (Fig. 4.19).¹²⁵ The original track of the wall

¹²⁰ The new city wall was 1.9 zhang high with a total perimeter of 904 zhang. Four gates were opened on the city wall: the East Gate Fuyang 東門輔陽, South Gate Longxing 南門龍興, West Gate Tonghai 西門通海 and North Gate Yujiang 北門娛江.

¹²¹ The relocation of the Guishan County 歸善縣 was commanded by the county magistrate Lin Minzhi.

¹²² The urban geographer Chang Sendou noted Huizhou as one of the four examples known to him that departed from a standard administrative practice whereby a prefectural-level capital was left without the yamen of its county. Chang pointed out that the usual administrative pattern in imperial China was to have higher-level offices housed in cities that also served as capitals at lower levels. Thus, almost all prefectural-level capitals also served as county level capitals. Huizhou deviated from this practice as its county capital Guishan was relocated to a separated site from the prefectural capital.

The other three examples noted by Chang are Zhongqing 重慶 and Xuyong 敘永 in Sichuan 四川, and Fenyang 鳳陽 in Anhui 安徽.

Chang Sendou, "The Morphology of Walled Capitals", in *The City in Late Imperial China*, William G. Skinner ed. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), 93.

¹²³ The floating bridge was called Dongxin Qiao 東新橋. It was made by boats tied together, which was a common construction method in south China during the imperial period.

¹²⁴ The East expedition 東征 aimed to suppress a revolt led by Zhen Dongming 陳炯明, who betrayed the Nationalist Party.

¹²⁵ This remained wall is now listed as a city-level protected monument by the Huizhou government. The preserved portion is 180 meters in length and originally served as the embankment along the Dong River. The external wall was constructed on a 2 meters high foundation and its exterior was faced with green and red stone strips, while the inside of the wall was rammed earth. The highest part of the wall was measured 7.93 meters and the thickest part was measured 6.84 meters.

is converted into a road circuit encircling the inner city area (Fig. 4.20).¹²⁶ The Minguo government also replaced the old floating bridge Dongxin Qiao with a new concrete structure that greatly improved the traffic between the twin cities (Fig. 4.21).¹²⁷ Connected to the bridge, a new major road Shuidong 水東路 was constructed that cut across the old county city. With rows of verandah houses constructed at its two sides, the Shuidong Road has become the major commercial street in Huizhou (Fig. 4.22).

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the Huizhou government initiated three major urban projects, all related to the water bodies. Between 1949 and 1957, the government mobilized over 10,000 citizens to fill up all the water bodies inside the city area so as to obtain more land. This included 15 canal and ponds, such as the Ehu 鵝湖 and the Xiushuihu 秀水湖, and more than 290 low-lying grounds.¹²⁸ As a result, eight new roads could be built on the reclaimed land.¹²⁹ The lakes and ponds that were once dominant features in Huizhou, now exist only in the collective memory of the local people.

The second urban project was the construction of the cross-river bridges (Fig. 4.23). After 1949, five cross-river bridges were built one by one across the Dong

¹²⁶ This circuit is composed of the Huancheng Road East 環城東路, First and Second Huangcheng Road West 環城西路, Binjiang Road West 濱江西路, Shuimen Road 水門路, Nanmen Road 南門路 and Changshou Road 長壽路.

¹²⁷ Before liberation, the ancient floating bridge Dongxin Qiao 東新橋 was the only cross-river bridge in Huizhou. In 1930, a concrete structure replaced it but it was soon destroyed by the nationalist army during the civil war. The bridge was rebuilt in 1944 and widened in 1960.

¹²⁸ After the lake Ehu 鵝湖 was filled up, the flooded water from then on has to discharge to the Dong River through the watergate on the bridge Gongbei Qiao 拱北橋.

¹²⁹ The eight new roads constructed on the reclaimed land are Wushi Road 五四路, Wuyi Road 五一路, Guoqing Road 國慶路, Xiushuihu Road 秀水湖路, Niupi Road 牛皮路, Zhayou Road 榨油路, Shishou Road 石壽路 and Dongjiang Matou Road 東江碼頭路.

River and the Xizhi Rivers.¹³⁰ The construction of these bridges enhanced the traffic flow and the connections between riverbanks. With the improved traffic, in 1958 the Huizhou government proposed to develop the north bank of the Dong River into a new industrial area, Shuibeī 水北, with steel and light-chemical engineering as a basis for its development. Furthermore, in 1974 the Huizhou government rezoned the city into four administrative areas (Fig. 4.24), which are Qiaoxi 橋西, Qiaodong 橋東, Xiajiao 下角 and Shuibeī 水北 (now called Jiangbei).¹³¹ Qiaoxi 橋西 is where the old prefectural capital was located, and is now the inner city of Huizhou; while Qiaodong 橋東 is where the old Guishan county was located, whereas Xiajiao 下角 and Jiangbei 江北 are newly developed areas serving as bases for industrial developments.

The third urban project again showed how the Huizhou people turned the unfavorable conditions of the surrounding landscape into beneficial ones – just as how their ancestors reconditioned the West Lake and filled up the water bodies in the city. The rerouting of the Xizhi River in 1971 involved over 10,000 Huizhou citizens (Fig. 4.25). They filled up the winding portions of the Xizhi River and re-diverted the water into a newly excavated river. This new river portion employs the name “Xinkai 新開”, which means “newly developed”. With the construction of a new embankment along its south bank, the Xinkai River 新開河 greatly released Huizhou from the threat of flooding and shortened its navigation lane.

Huizhou’s development not only benefited from its surrounding landscape, but also by its promising location and well developed transportation network to the other

¹³⁰ Across the Dong River there stretches the Huizhou Daqiao 惠州大橋 and the Dongjiang Daqiao 東江大橋, while across the Xizhi River are the Shuimen Daqiao 水門大橋, Xizhijiang Daqiao 西枝江大橋 and Xinkaihe Daqiao 新開河大橋.

¹³¹ Interestingly, the names of the four administrative areas are given according to their geographic locations with respect to the rivers. Qiaoxi 橋西 means the west of the bridge Dongxin Qiao 東新橋 while Qiaodong 橋東 means the east of the bridge. Xiajiao 下角 means the lower corner of the Dong River, while Shuibeī 水北 means the north bank of the Dong River.

riverine cities in Guangdong. In 1987, Huizhou was included in the province's major development area – the enlarged Pearl River Delta Open Economic Zone (commonly known as the “Big Delta 大珠江三角洲”). Since then, Huizhou has acquired a leading position in the delta for its high-technology manufacturing.¹³² Many Hong Kong enterprises have set up plants at Huizhou, and this provides further technology and management skills that helps the development of the city.¹³³

In recent decades, the construction of the pedestrian shopping street and the Xiabu Riverside Park 下浦濱江公園 has added new colors to the city. By renovating the Old Shizi Street 商業步行街 into a pedestrian shopping street in 1997, the historic commercial centre has regained its vitality and maintained its spirit of the place.¹³⁴ Since its completion, the pedestrian shopping street has attracted many visitors and has become the most popular commercial and entertainment spot in today's Huizhou (Fig. 4.26).

Furthermore, the river edge along the south bank of the Xizhi River was revitalized into the Xiabu Riverside Park 下浦濱江公園 (Fig. 4.27). It is a pioneer project under the government's “Two rivers, four banks 兩江四岸發展計劃” development strategy. This 177,500 square meters park has four plazas with different themes and functions, a gallery that reflects the history and culture of Huizhou,

¹³² By 1987, under the sponsorship of the Huiyang Development Company, Huizhou had erected a factory building that housed several high-tech companies, such as Philips, Shinwa, and General Scanning, producing goods like car radios, semiconductors, and electrocardiogram machines. In 1988, Huizhou also developed two industrial parks. Vogel credited the development of Huizhou in high-technology manufacturing to the labors' relatively high education level among other cities in the province.

Vogel, *One step ahead in China: Guangdong under reform*, 226.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ The north-south running Wushi Road 五四路 and Guoqing Road 國慶路, and the east-west running Zhongshan Road 中山路 constitute the pedestrian shopping street. The former two are new roads gained from the reclamation of the lake Ehu 鵝湖; while the Zhongshan Road was converted from the old Shizi Street 十字街, which is once the historic commercial centre in Huizhou during the late imperial period.

greenery, paved promenade, children's playground and other sport facilities. The construction was completed in 1998, and has been awarded as one of the ten best cultural plazas in the Guangdong Province.

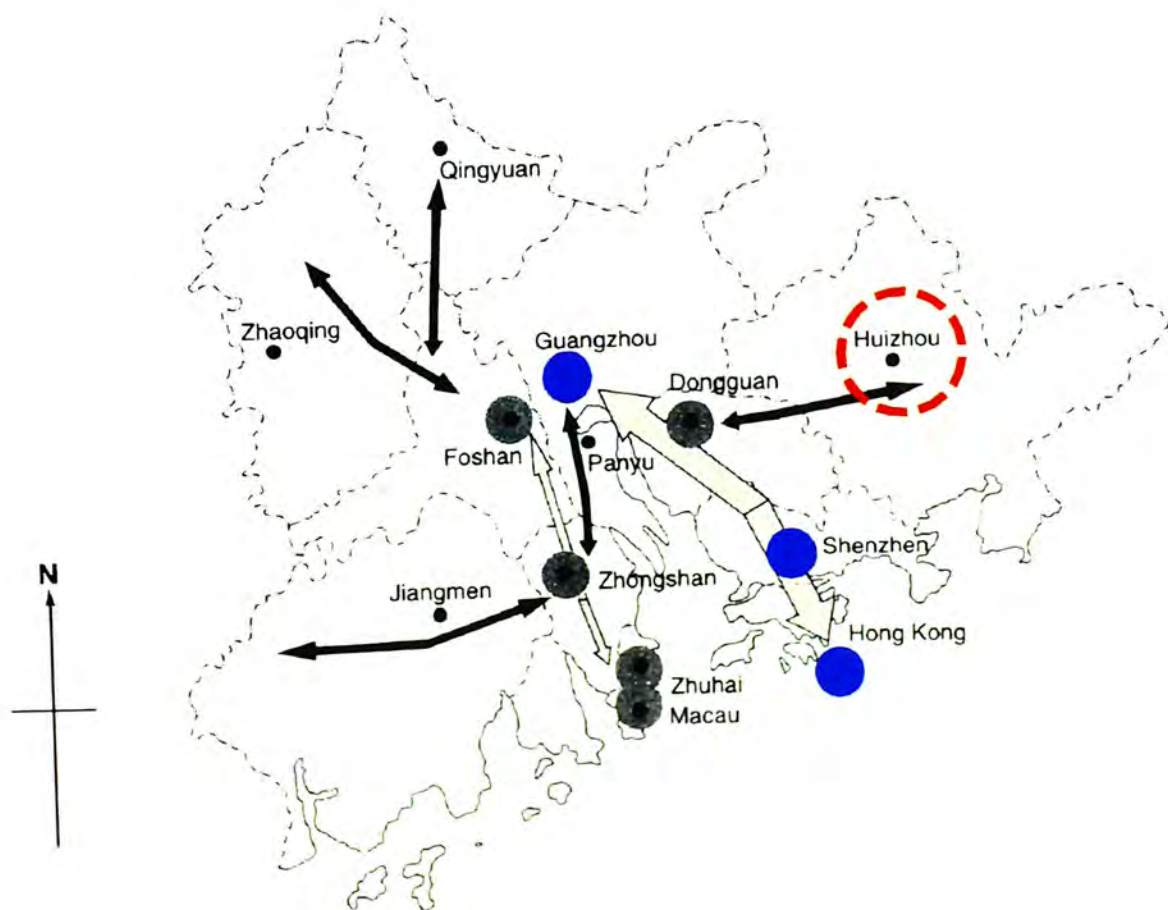
Throughout history, the landscape settings and natural elements have strongly influenced the urban development of Huizhou. The Huizhou people are closely attached to the landscape, adept at grasping its distinctiveness, and able to turn any unfavorable condition around to benefit the city's defensibility, accessibility and economic development.

Timeline		Major urban developments of Huizhou	
Sui	590 A.D.	•	Formation of the city
Song	960-1279 A.D.	•	First construction of the walled city, with yamen built on Tu Hill.
	1068 A.D.	•	Reconditioning of the West Lake.
Ming	1370 A.D.	•	Expansion of the walled city to its south, at site embedded by the Xizhi River and the West Lake.
	1566 A.D.	•	Construction of the common people city at separated site across the Xizhi River.
	1578 A.D.	•	Relocation of the county seat Guishan to the common people city. A unique riverine twin cities format hence resulted.
Minguo	1920s – 1940s	•	Demolition of the city wall as catalyzed by the “East expedition” of the nationalist army.
		•	Construction of Shuidong Road across the old county area, with rows of verandah houses located at its two sides.
Republic	1949 – 1957 A.D.	•	Filling up of the water bodies inside the city area.
	1950s	•	Construction of the cross-river bridges.
	1958 A.D.	•	Proposal to develop the Shuibei (Jiangbei) area at the north bank of the Dong River into an industrial area.
	1971 A.D.	•	Re-routing of the Xizhi River into the Xinkai River.
	1974 A.D.	•	Rezoning of the city into four areas.
	1987 A.D.	•	Huizhou was included into the enlarged Pearl River Delta Open Economic Area (Big Delta).
	1997 A.D.	•	Revitalization of the Pedestrian Shopping Street.
		•	Revitalization of the river edge into the Xiabu Riverside Park.

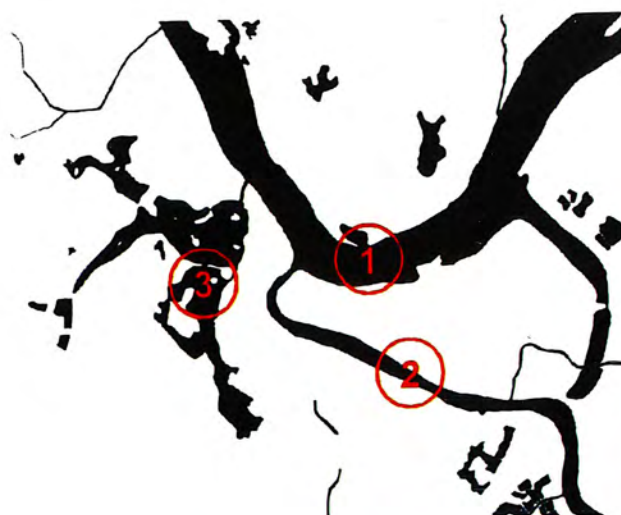
(Table 4.2) Summary of major urban developments in Huizhou



(Fig. 4.11) Huizhou is the regional capital of the Huizhou Municipality (Huizhou Shi). The municipality is composed of the capital city Huizhou, Huidong County, Huiyang County, Boluo County and Longmen County.



(Fig. 4.12) Huizhou is located at the northeastern corner of the enlarged Pearl River Delta Open Economic Zone, and overlooks the eastern development corridor. The city enjoys a prominent location close to both Guangzhou and Shenzhen.



The water bodies around the city Huizhou

1. Dong River



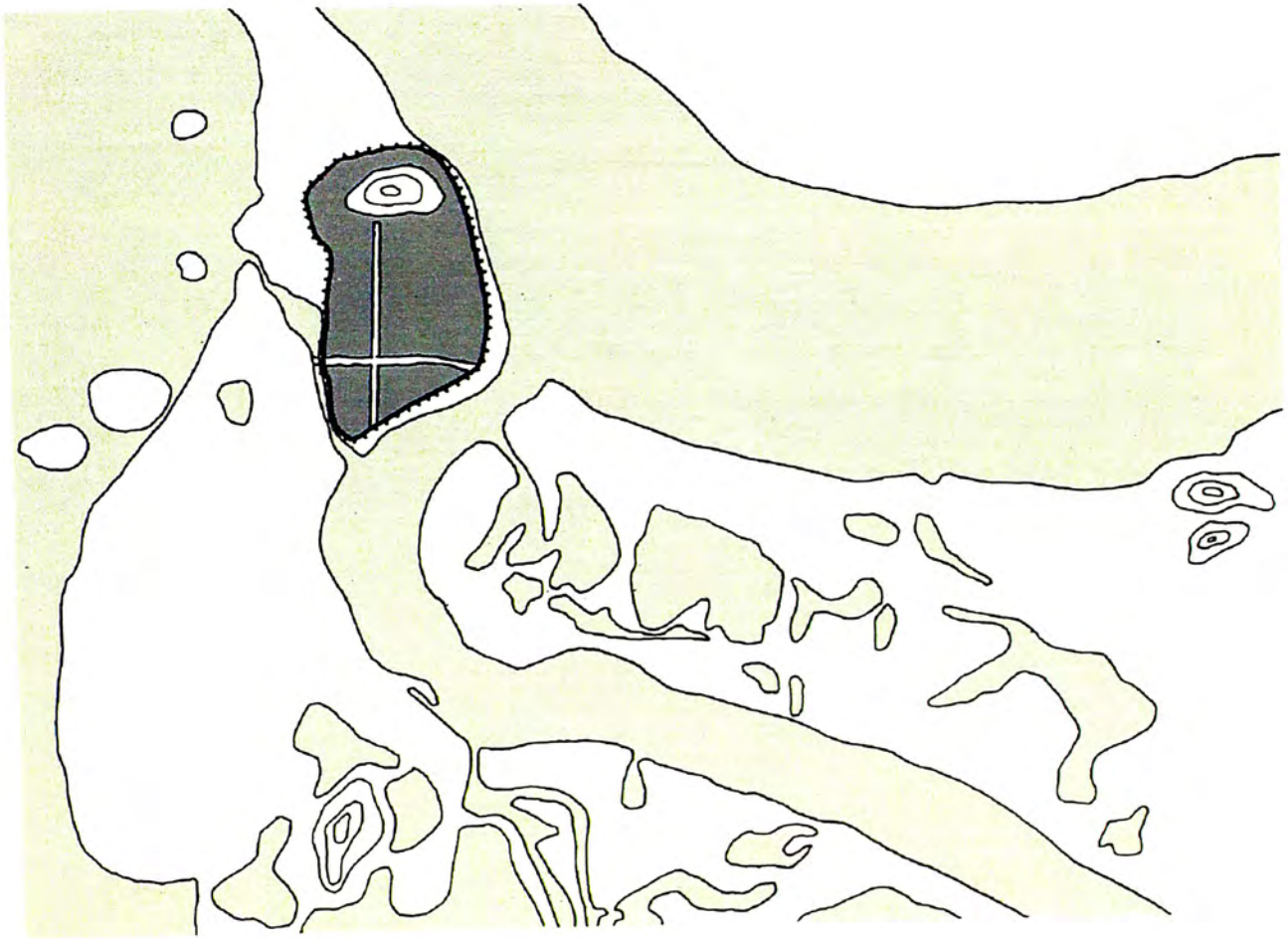
2. Xizhi River



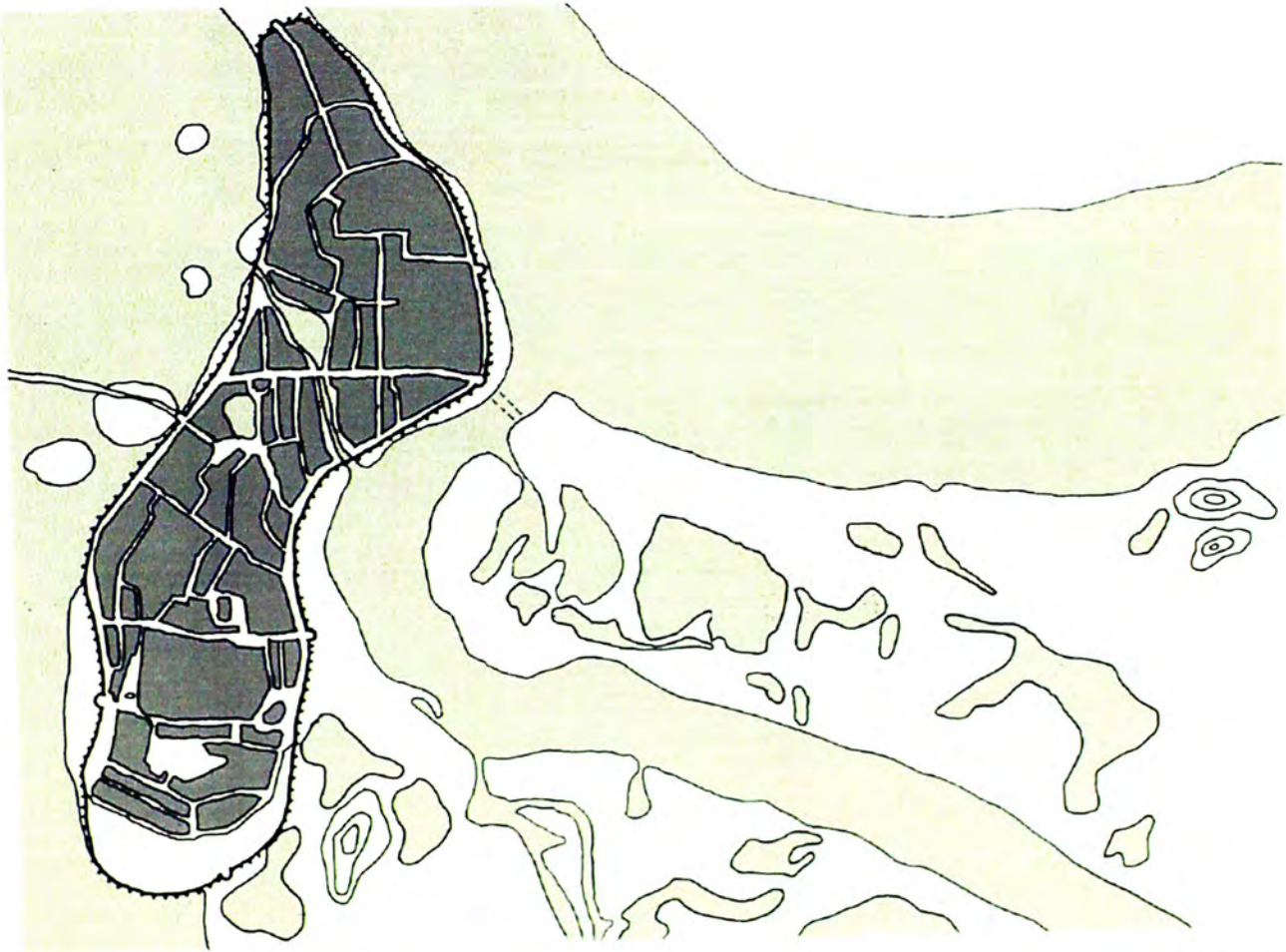
3. West Lake



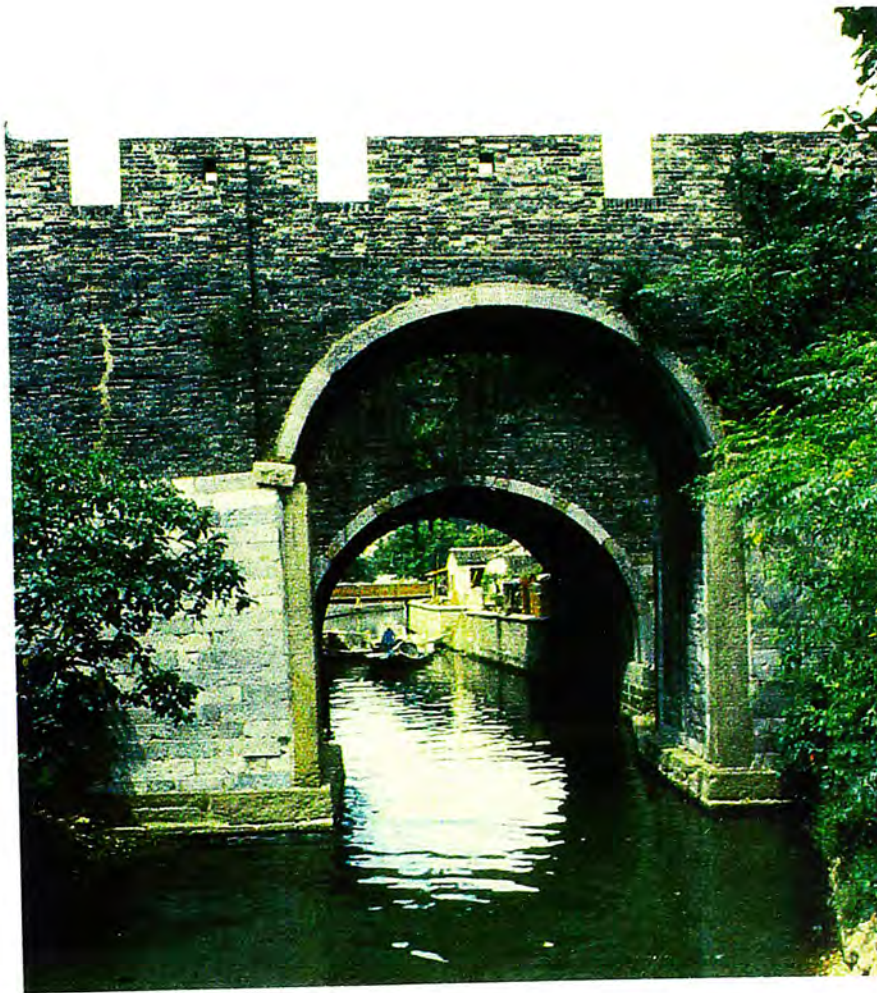
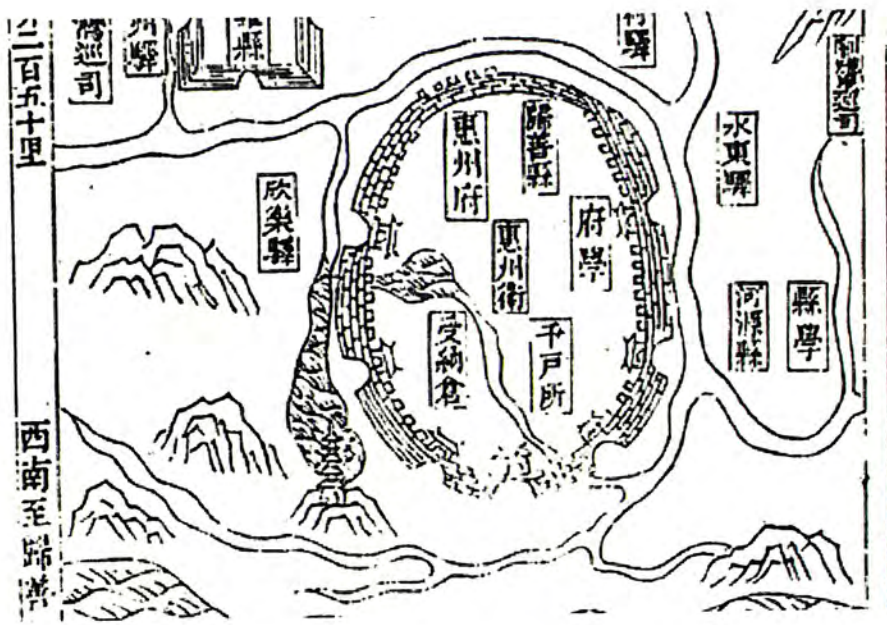
(Fig. 4.13) Huizhou is located around three water bodies: the Dong River, the Xizhi River and the West Lake.



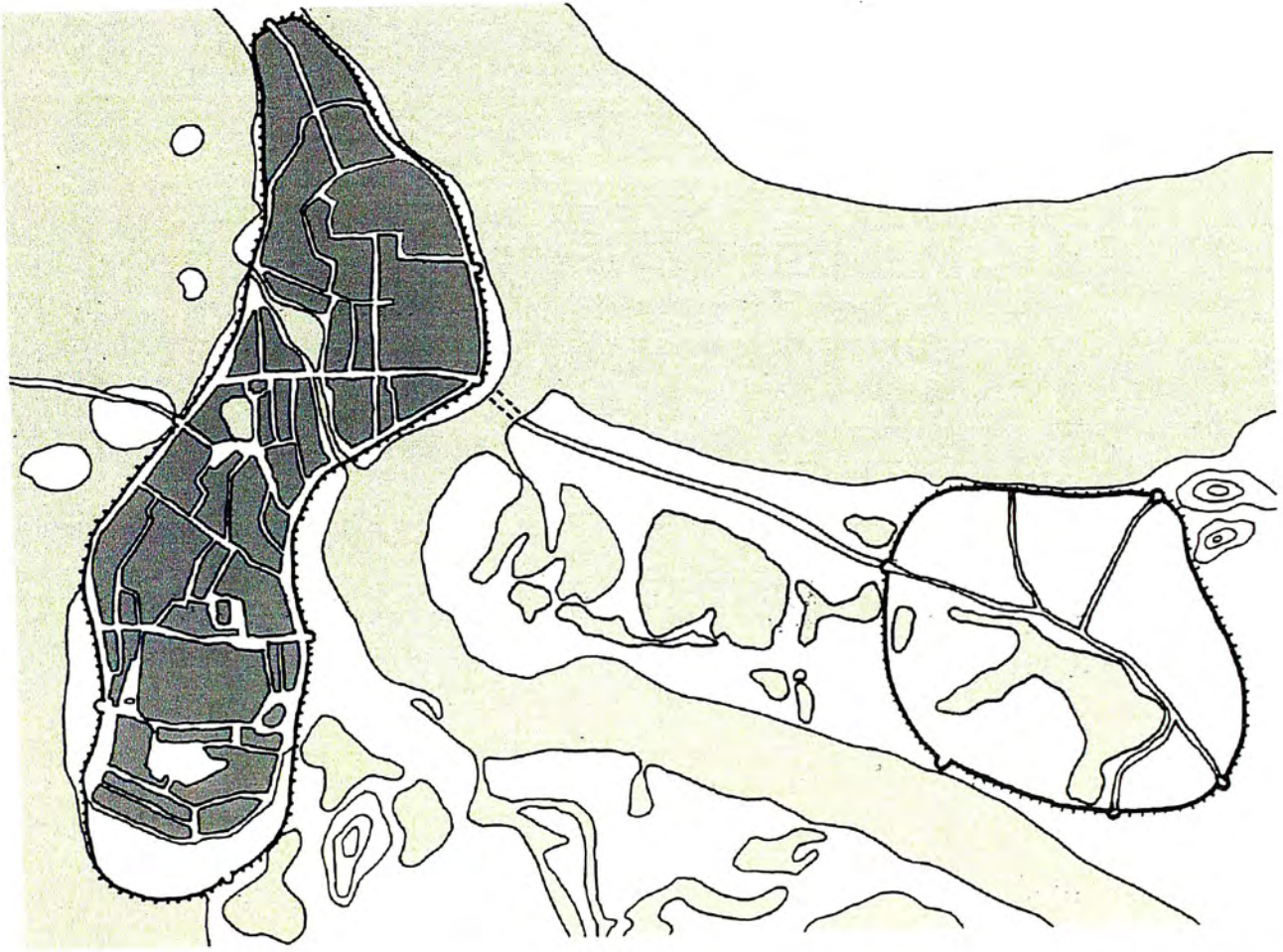
(Fig. 4.14) Huizhou in the Song Dynasty.
The small city was orthogonal in shape, with four city gates opened to the four cardinal directions. A simple crossroad was planned that linked the gates. The yamen was located on top of the Tu Hill at the north of the city.



(Fig. 4.15) In the Ming Dynasty, Huizhou was first expanded in 1370 A.D. to the south of the original city. The expanded city was bordered by the rivers and the West Lake. The lake Ehu was internalized as a canal. Many bodies of water can also be found inside the city area.



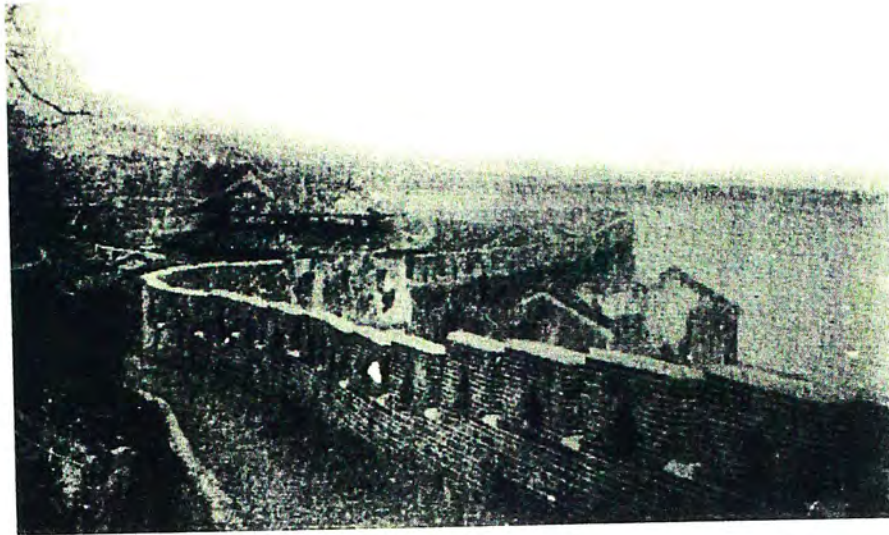
(Fig. 4.16) The historic map clearly showed the internalization of the lake Ehu into the city are and formed the linkage between the West Lake with the Xizhi River. Flooded water from the lake was discharged to the river through the Ehu (Top). Example of water gates in Chinese city (Bottom).



(Fig. 4.17) Instead of further extending the city to the south, a new city was constructed in the Ming Dynasty (1566 A.D.) across the Xizhi River to house the common Huizhou people.



(Fig. 4.18) The historic map of Huizhou clearly showed the *One city, two enclosures* format.



(Fig. 4.19) The old city wall of the Guishan County (Top).
The preserved city wall in Huizhou along the present Shangmi Street and Binjiang Road. It is now listed as a municipal-level protected units (Bottom).



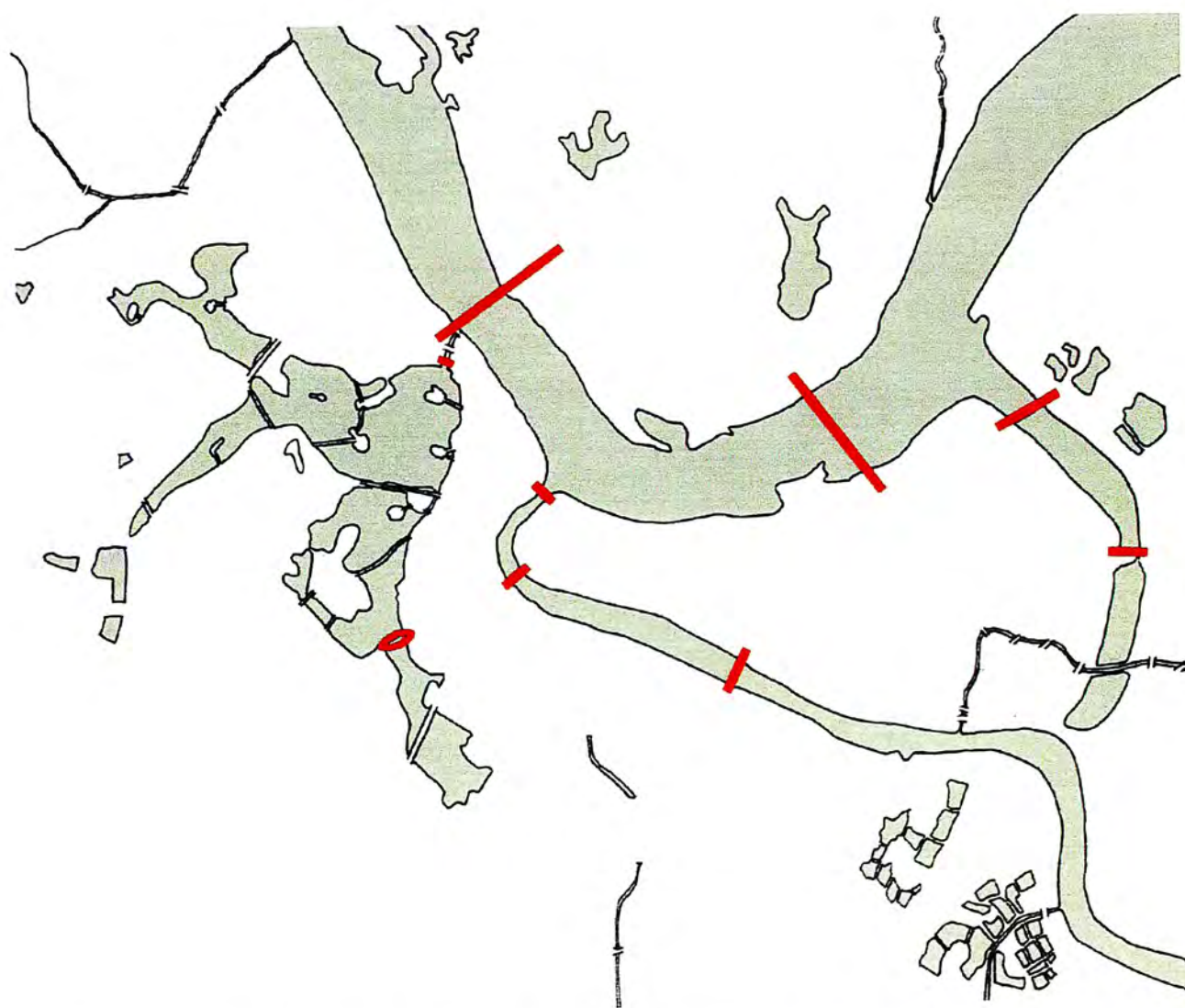
(Fig. 4.20) The road circuit encircling the inner city area.



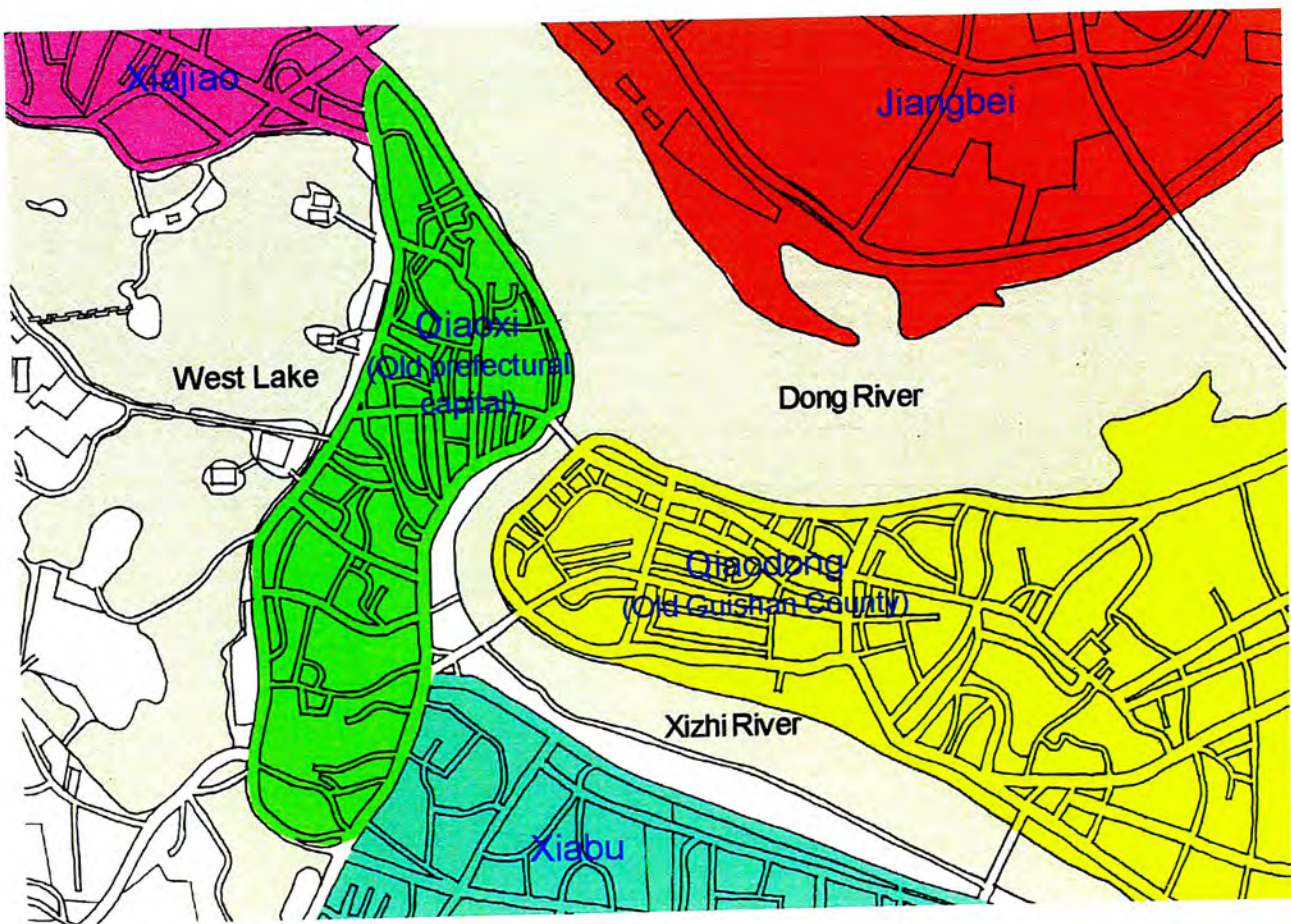
(Fig. 4.21) The bridge Dongxin Qiao rebuilt in 1960 on the same location as the ancient floating bridge that linked the twin cities at the two banks of the Xizhi River.



(Fig. 4.22) The Shuidong Road planned during the Mingguo Period. It was once the major shopping street in Huizhou, where the verandah shop-houses dominated its two sides.



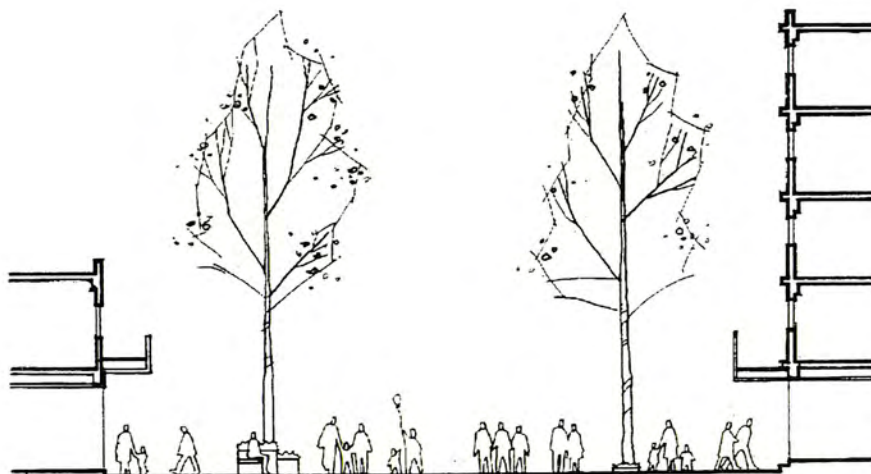
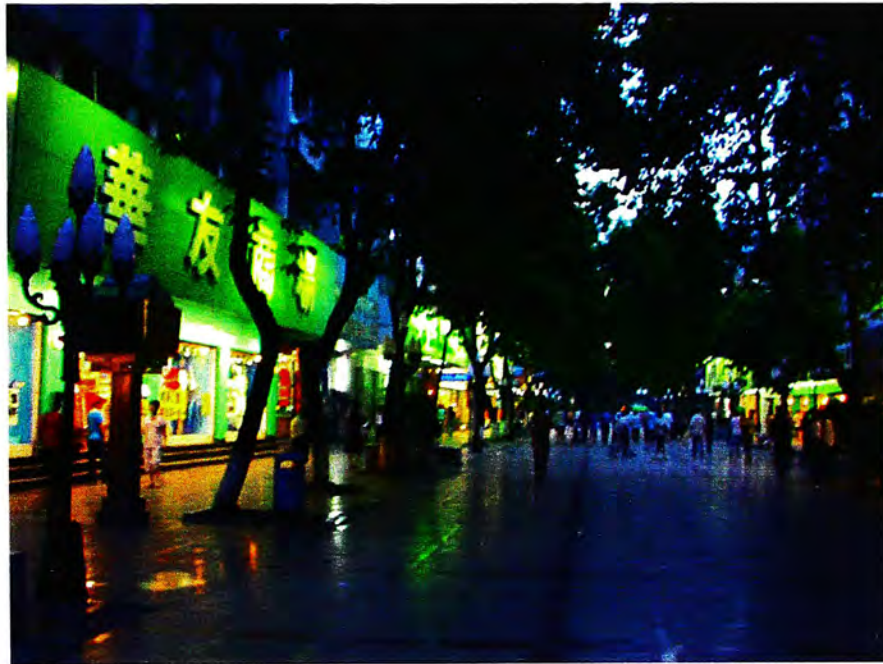
(Fig. 4.23) Map showing the location of bridges in present days Huizhou



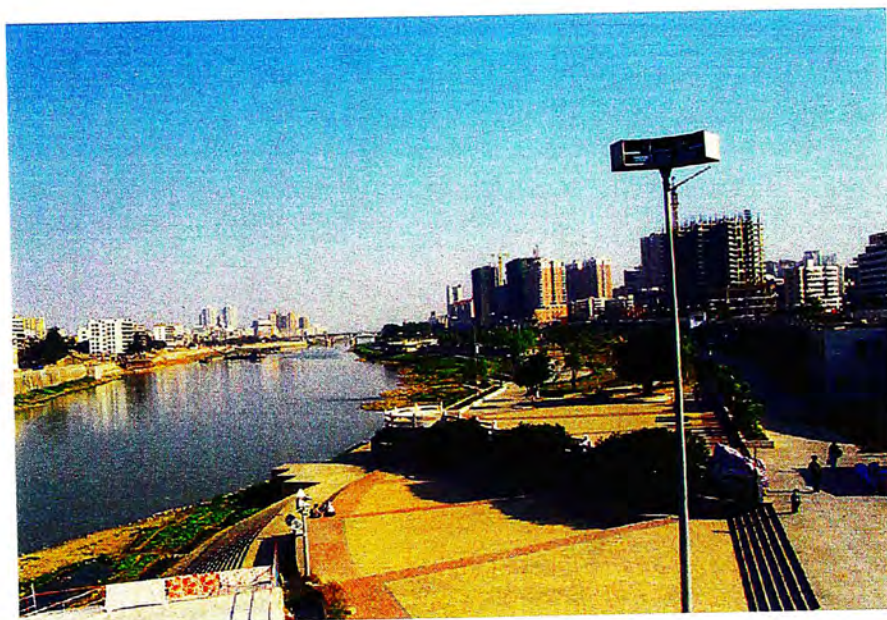
(Fig. 4.24) Map showing the administrative areas in Huizhou.



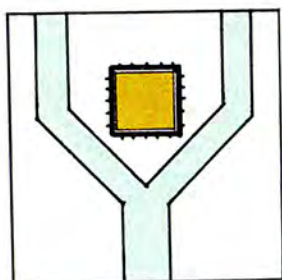
(Fig. 4.25) In 1971, the Huizhou people responded to the calling by the local government to reroute the Xizhi River into the Xinkai River.



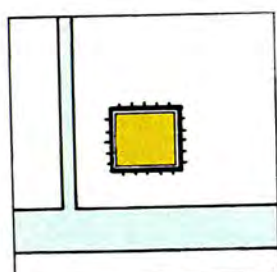
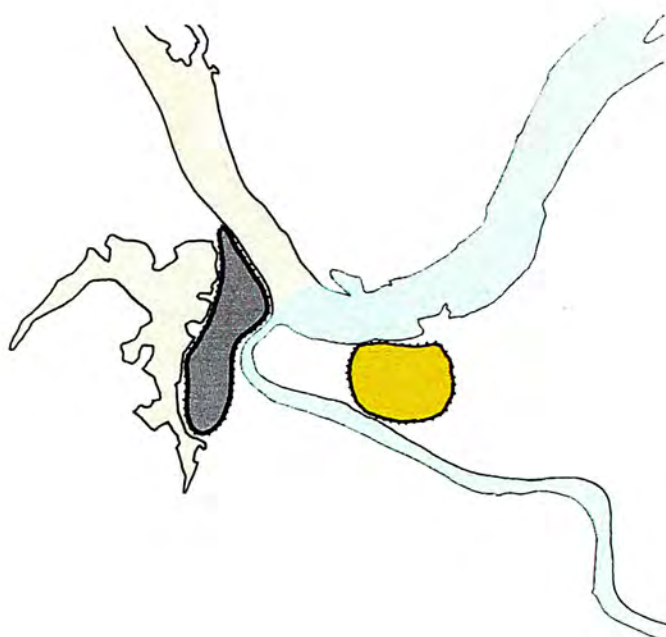
(Fig. 4.26) The pedestrian shopping street is now the most popular retail area in Huizhou.



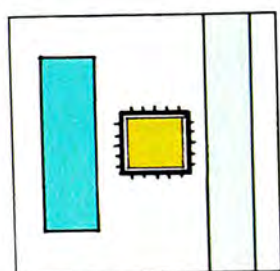
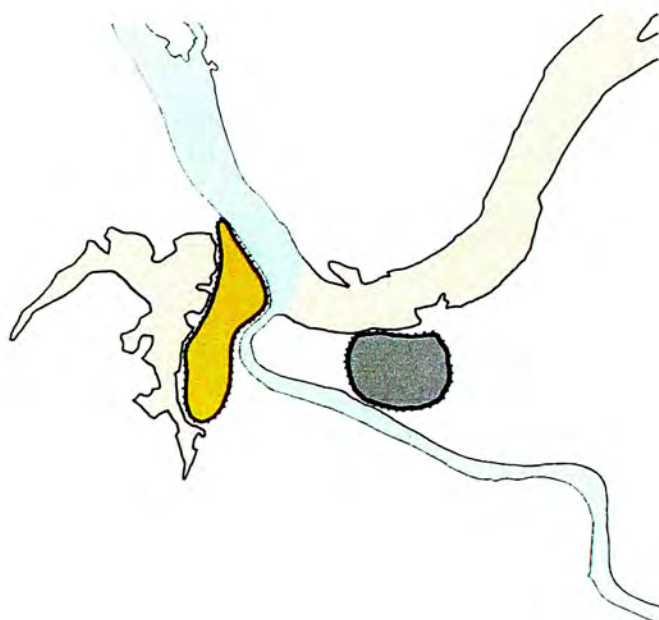
(Fig. 4.27) The river edge along the south bank of the Xizhi River is revitalized into the Xiabu Riverside Park.



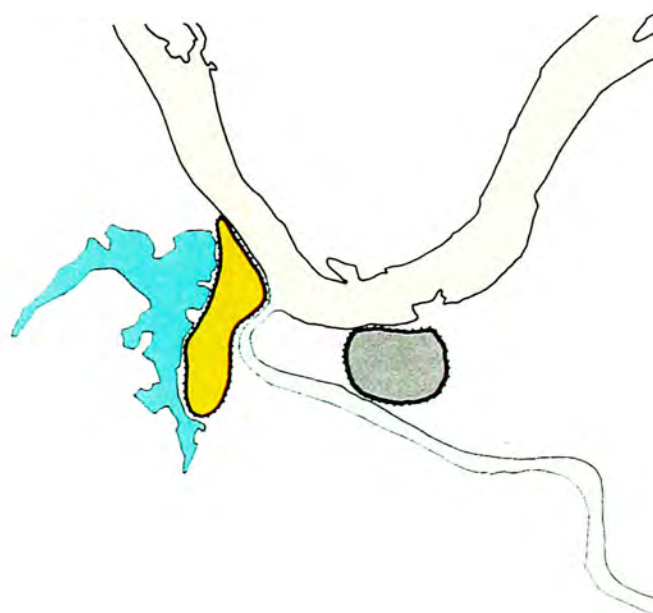
Confluence of Two Rivers



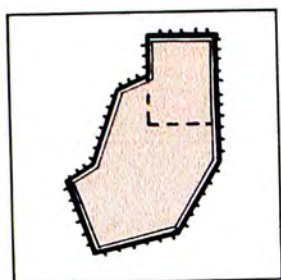
Aside River & Tributary



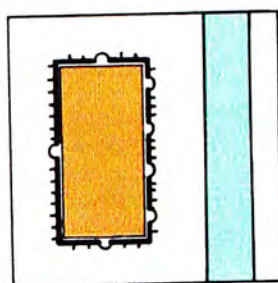
Between River & Group of Water Bodies



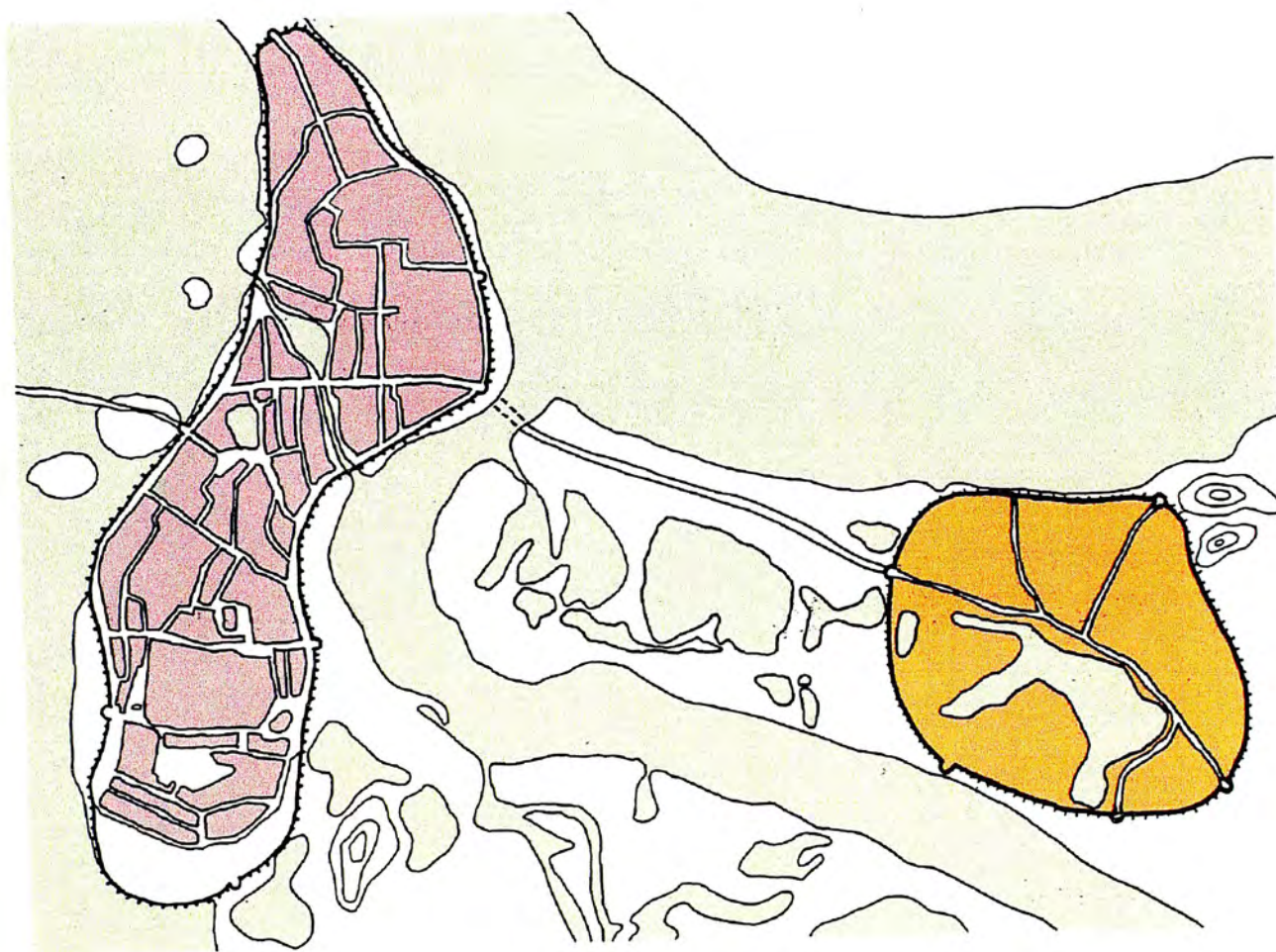
(Plate 11) The siting of Huizhou
 The siting of Huizhou (prefectural city and county seat) is a hybrid of three cases that embraced by two water bodies.



Irregular Form resulted from Extension

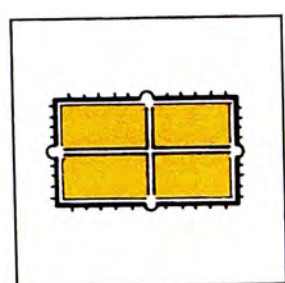


Orthogonal

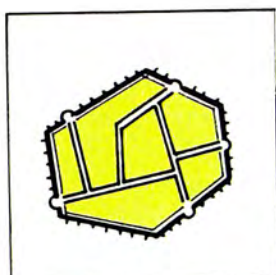


(Plate 12) The city form of Huizhou

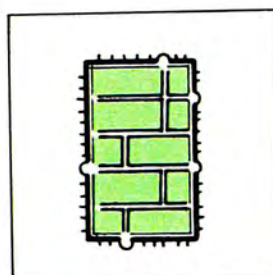
The prefectural capital of Huizhou had to conform to the irregularity of the landscape and resulted in an irregular city form; while the Guishan County remained orthogonal in shape.



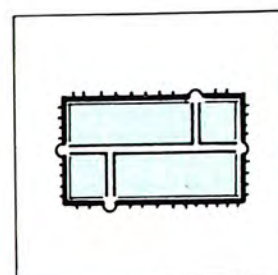
Cross-shaped



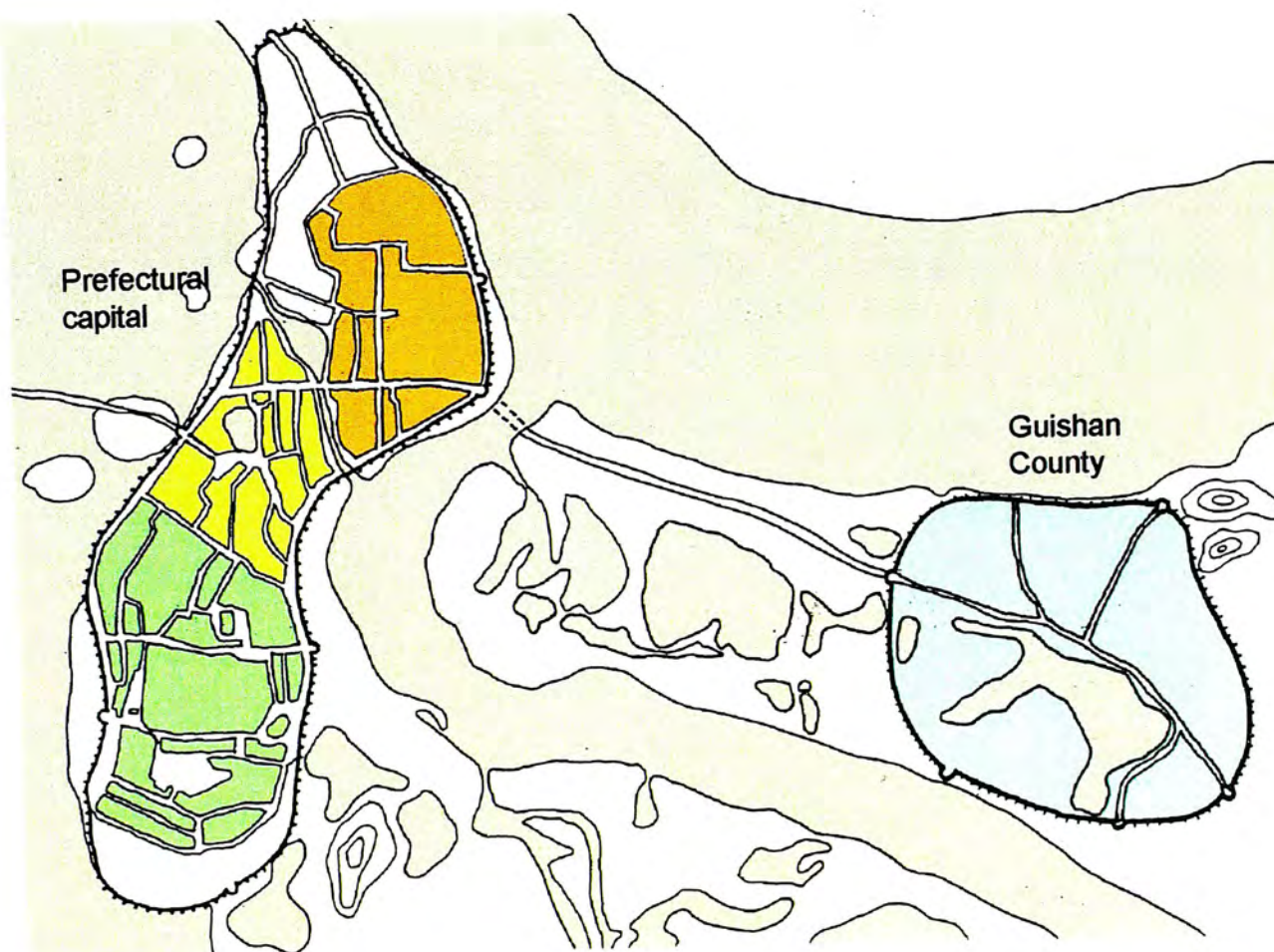
Web



Rows



T-shaped



(Plate 13) The city fabric of Huizhou
The city fabric of late imperial Huizhou is a hybrid of four kinds of patterns: cross-shaped, web and rows pattern in the prefectural capital, while T-shaped pattern in the Guishan County.



(Fig. 4.29) Map showing the location of the three dominant row streets in the Huizhou inner city.



(Fig. 4.30) Map showing the location of the three main places in Huizhou inner city that have spirits maintained.

4.3 MANIFESTING LANDSCAPE INTO PLACE: THE MAINTAINING OF THE SPIRIT OF PLACE IN HUIZHOU INNER CITY

The landscape-influenced fabric has divided Huizhou into several places. Differing in their history, physical settings, atmosphere and context, these places carry different spirits which persisted in people's collective memory. Here we will focus our discussion onto the inner city of Huizhou only (the old prefectural capital).¹³⁶ Three special places in the inner city are identified as having their spirits well maintained. They are the Tu Hill 涂山, the attached Beimen 北門 Neighborhood - the commercial linkage, and the residential neighborhoods along the row streets (Fig.4.30).

A place with strong historic sense: the Tu Hill and the Beimen Neighborhood

Tu Hill 涂山 is the place in Huizhou that has the strongest historic sense. Situated at the north of the city, Tu Hill is where the old Sui and Song city was situated. Throughout the long imperial era, the top of Tu Hill was the site where the prefectural yamen was located. Although the yamen no longer exists, Tu Hill remains as Huizhou's civic centre. Along the old imperial road up to the Tu Hill, there are many civic buildings, including the People's Government Office, the Educational Department, the Police Headquarters, etc (Fig. 4.31). This is a usual practice in China – the civic and political centre of the city usually remained at the same place to confer both legitimacy and an aura of rule. Though time has changed, Tu Hill still retains its spirit of the place as the city's civic centre.

The strong historic sense of Tu Hill is not only cultivated by its significant position in history, but also by the preservation of many historic artifacts. In 1921, the hilltop was turned into the Zhongshan Park 中山公園 (Fig. 4.32). Inside the park there

¹³⁶ In this thesis, the inner city of Huizhou means the old prefectural capital, which is the present Qiaoxi area 橋西.

stands a reddish building, the Zhongshan Memorial Hall 中山紀念堂, constructed in 1937, near the original site of the imperial yamen (Fig. 4.33). It is now the landmark of Tu Hill, which marks the changes of the place from a bureaucratic space into a public space open to the people. Together with the historic stone statues preserved at the Zhongshan Park, Tu Hill has become a place effectively recalling people's collective memory (Fig. 4.34).

Attached to the north of the Tu Hill is the old Beimen residential neighborhood. It is developed along the north-south running Beimen Straight Road 北門直街 that leads to the already demolished North Gate. The north end of the road (where the already-demolished North Gate was originally located) is connected to the ancient bridge Gongbei Qiao 拱北橋, which is one of the few preserved bridges in Huizhou (Fig. 4.35).

The preserved city wall is another dominant structure in the neighborhood, which is immensely significant in cultivating the historic sense of the place (Fig. 4.36). The strong sense of attachment to the wall is still maintained in the local community today. No longer serving as a defensive barrier or embankment, the wall now serves a multiplicity of functions. It is a listed monument that reminds people of the ancient days and the changes of epoch. It is also an urban space for the local residents where various activities can occur: old people are doing exercises, housewives are drying their clothes, and children are playing ballgames (Fig. 4.37). It is also a circulation path at the upper level, and provides a short cut for local people who want to go from the neighborhood to the riverside promenade. (Fig. 4.38) The local residents have even developed ways to attach their own houses to the wall (Fig. 4.39).

A place with unfading prosperity – the commercial linkage between the twin cities

Historically, prosperous retail activities were developed along the linkage between the twin cities in Huizhou. They spread from the Shizi Street 十字街 in the prefectural capital (present Qiaoxi area 橋西), through the bridge Dongxin Qiao 東新橋 to the Shuidong Road 水東路 in the Guishan County (present Qiaodong area 橋東). Between 1949 to 1957, the government enhanced the commercial development along this linkage by widening the Shizi Street 十字街 and the Shuidong Road 水東街. In 1997, the government further reinforced the spirit of this place by renovating the old Shizhi Street and the new Wushi 五四路 and Guoqing Road 國慶路 into a traffic-free pedestrian shopping street. Retail shops, restaurants, cinemas and etc. are provided along the shopping street (Fig. 4.40), which is nicely paved and furnished with street furniture and plants (Fig. 4.41). This project is a great success and has become the most popular shopping area in Huizhou.

The development of the pedestrian shopping street in Huizhou may be a result of the trend of pedestrianization in many Guangdong cities today. This trend starts probably from Zhongshan 中山, where the government revitalized its major road into a pedestrian shopping street (Fig. 4.42). Since its completion in 1995, many cities followed it and set up traffic-free shopping areas through revitalizing the old streets, including the provincial capital Guangzhou. This brings in incomes and vitality to the old areas, and maintains the spirit of the place as stored in the collective memory of the people.

However, the apparently successful shopping street in Huizhou has led to an imbalance in commercial development along the old commercial linkage. In contrast to the bustling pedestrian shopping street, the Shuidong Road 水東路 is now decaying and losing its vitality (Fig. 4.43). Although the verandah shop-houses along the road

are extensively remain, they are degrading due to a lack of maintenance. In fact, similar cases happened in many Guangdong cities – the major road that constructed during the Mingguo period and dominated by the verandah shop-houses are now deteriorating and cannot fulfill contemporary needs (Fig. 4.44). In most Guangdong cities, the government simply demolishes these old shop-houses and redevelops the main road with totally new looks. However, in a few cities, they are aware of the significance of these shop-houses to the collective memory of the people, and therefore strive for the revitalization and adaptively reuse of them, such as the case in Zhongshan and Guangzhou, as illustrated previously. Nevertheless, Huizhou has already initiated the step to redevelop its old commercial center. Will it further carry to across the Xizhi River the Shuidong Road? The fate of the Shuidong Road is still undetermined.

A place with humane atmosphere – the residential neighborhoods along the row streets

In Huizhou, there are three dominant row streets in the city that used to connect the city gates on the east and west walls: the Jindai Street 金帶街, Tangwei Street 塘尾街 and Gonglouxia Street 更樓下街. These row streets are now connecting to the road circuits encircling the inner city area. They are interconnected by the alleys, and results in the street fabric unique in Guangdong (Fig. 4.45).¹³⁷

During the imperial period, the area was occupied by the residential neighborhoods that housed the rich people (whereas the common people mainly dwelled in Guishan County). Today, these neighborhoods still maintain a humane

¹³⁷ Similar street pattern can be found in Chaozhou, where the inner city is penetrated by rows of streets. However, these streets are not interconnected by alleys, as in the case of Huizhou. Rather, two main roads are planned cutting through the city and connected all these row streets.

atmosphere. They share similar yet differential qualities. Tangwei Street, in Chinese means the “end of the pond”. As its name suggested, the street was once dominated by fishing ponds.¹³⁸ It is the widest street among the three row streets, and is also the only one that allows vehicles to run east-west through the inner city today. Some old houses remain at the Tangwei Street are characterized by arcades and arched balconies with western ornaments (Fig. 4.46), while some have revolutionary slogans incorporated into the building elements (Fig. 4.47).

In contrast to the wide Tangwei Street, the Jindai Street 金帶街 and Gonglouxia 更樓下 remain intimate scale and low traffic flow. Jindai Street is free from vehicles due to its narrowness and great level difference. More traditional village houses are preserved along the Jindai Street, where they stand amid the residential blocks (Fig. 4.48). While in Gonglouxia, higher residential blocks emerge and make the narrow street always under shade (Fig. 4.49). Gonglouxia 更樓下, in Chinese means “under the Watch Tower 更樓”. The name of the street was given because of the Watch Tower that located at the centre of the street. However, the tower no longer exists.¹³⁹

The residential neighborhoods along these three row streets maintain a humane atmosphere because of three reasons: firstly, the limited traffic flow provokes various activities along the streets. Secondly, the preservation of old village houses helps maintain the streetscape familiar to the local residents. Thirdly, the small houses and narrow streets have led to an intimate street scale pleasant to the people. In some cases, new buildings larger in size are constructed behind the small village houses. These double layers of buildings allow the maintaining of an intimate scale along the street

¹³⁸ The Tangwei Street 塘尾街 was once dominated by fishing ponds as told by the local residents.

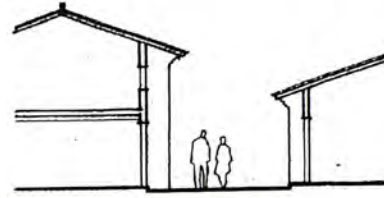
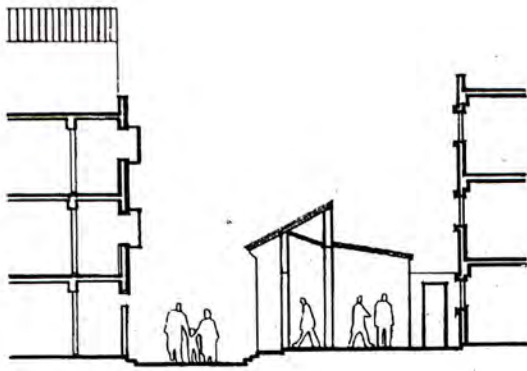
¹³⁹ No record can be found on the exact location, design and reasons for demolition of Watch Tower 更樓.

front (Fig. 4.50). In some cases, people only preserve the frontage of their old houses and use them as the gates to the residential blocks behind (Fig. 4.51).

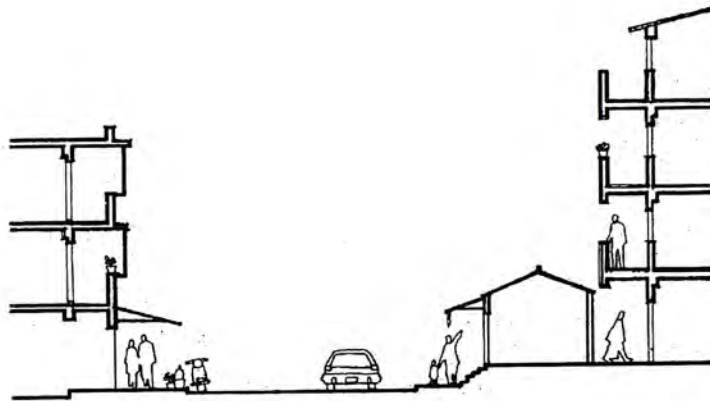
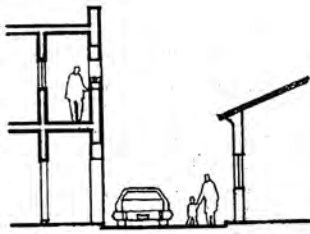
However, this precious humane atmosphere along the row streets is now threatened. A new giant shopping mall is under construction at the northern end of the Tangwei Street (Fig. 4.52). This 15-storey high Li Ri Plaza 麗日廣場, an investment of a Shenzhen developer and supported by the Huizhou government as pioneer project to redevelop the old inner city. The government also plans to widen the Tangwei Street into a 24-meter wide road which will involve the demolition of many traditional village houses. The streetscape along the row streets will definitely undergo tremendous changes in the coming future.

Place	Spirit	History	Elements that contribute to the maintaining of the spirit of the place
Tu Hill & Beimen Neighborhood	Historic sense	Old political and civic centre where the imperial yamen located.	● The concentration of preserved historic artifacts.
Commercial linkage	Unfailing prosperity	Historic commercial center	● The revitalization of the pedestrian shopping street.
Residential neighborhood along the row streets	Humane atmosphere	Historic neighborhood for rich people	● The limited traffic, preserved streetscape and intimate street scale.

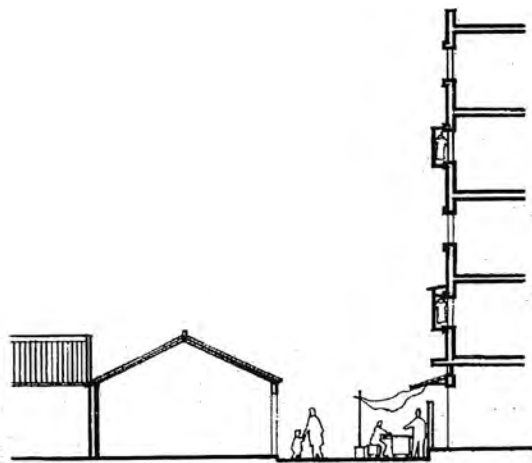
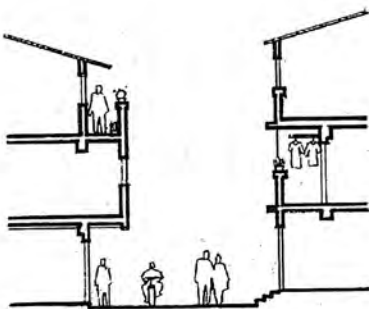
(Table 4.4) Elements that contribute to the maintaining of the spirits of the places.



Jindai Street



Tangwei Street

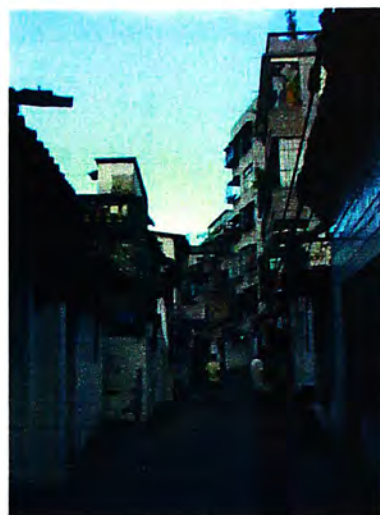


Gongliuxia Street

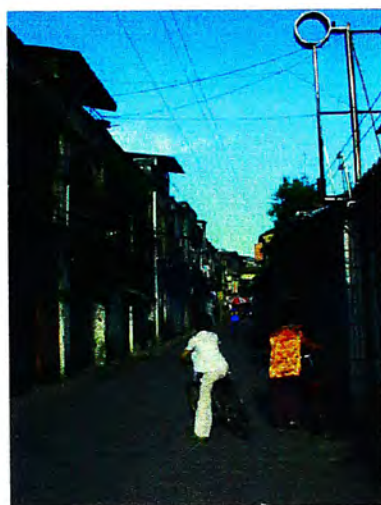
(Plate 14a) Sections showing the intimate scale of the three major row streets in Huizhou.



Jindai Street



Tangwei Street



Gongliuxia Street



(Plate 14b) Image of the three major row streets in Huizhou.



(Fig. 4.31) The governmental departments located along the imperial road leading to the Tu Hill.

((Fig. 4.32) The Zhongshan Park constructed in 1921 on top of the Tu Hill.

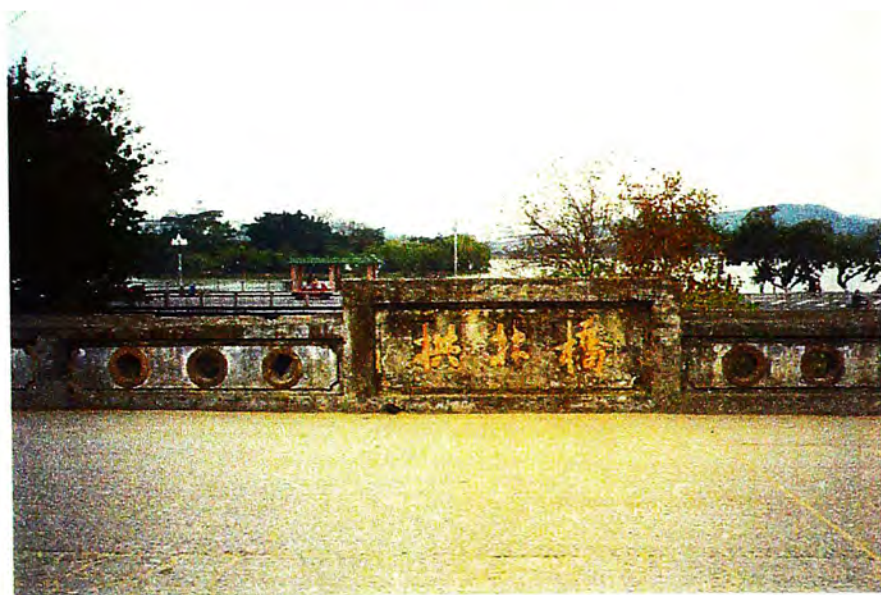


(Fig. 4.33) The Zhongshan Memorial Hall constructed in 1937 near the originally site of the imperial yamen.



(Fig. 4.34) The preserved ancient statues at the Zhongshan Park overlook the Dong River.

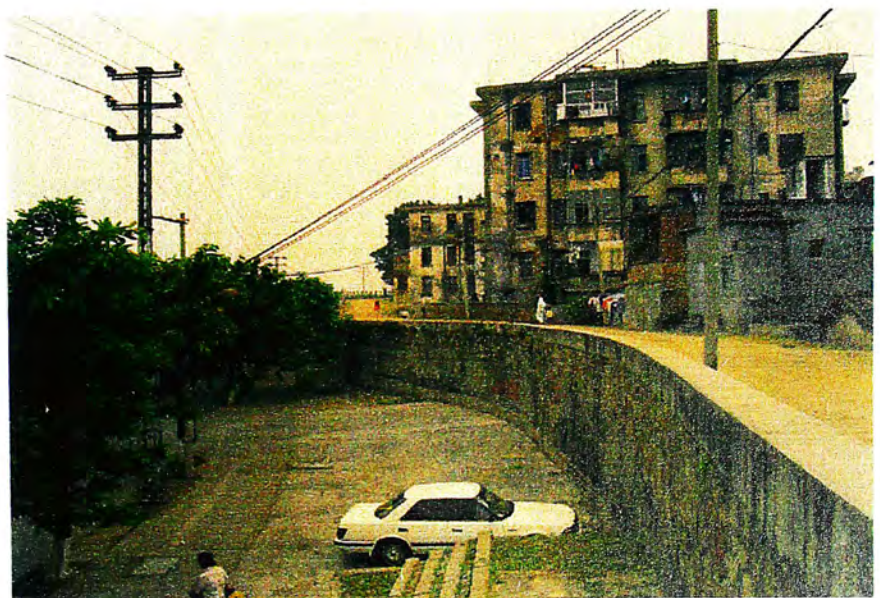




(Fig. 4.35) The present situation of the preserved ancient bridge Gongbei Qiao.



(Fig. 4.36) The preserved city wall is a dominant structure between the Beimen Neighborhood and the riverside promenade.



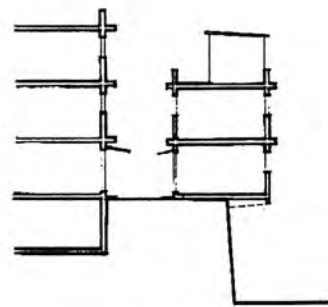


(Fig. 4.37) The local residents in the Beimen Neighborhood have strong attachment to the preserved city wall. They like to spend their leisure time on the wall.

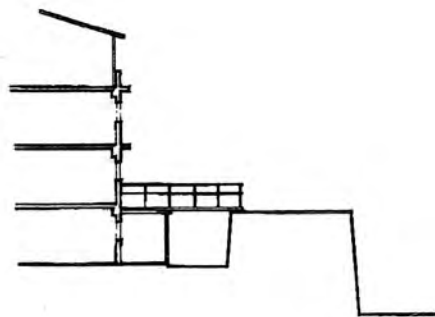


(Fig. 4.38) The preserved city wall in Huizhou provides a short cut from the Beimen Neighborhood to the riverside promenade.

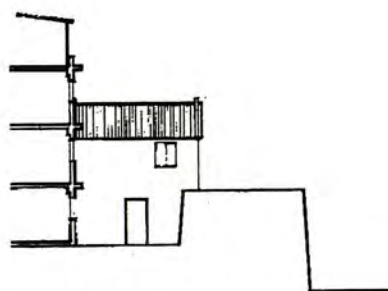
Direct access



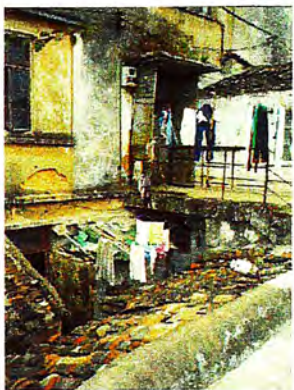
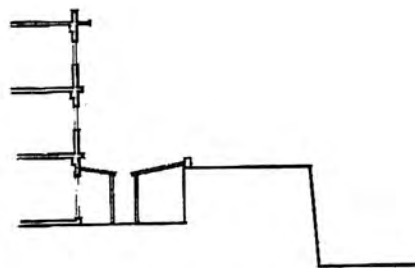
Bridge over



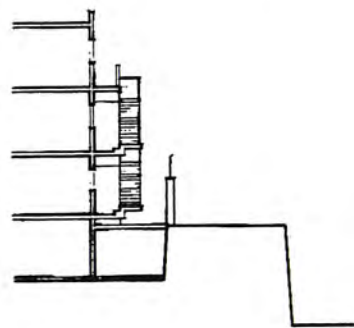
Annex



Privatization-1



Privatization-2



(Fig. 4.39) The local residents of the Beimen Neighborhood develop ways to encroach their houses to the wall structure.



(Fig. 4.40) Retail shops and other kinds of entertainment spots are opened on the two sides of the pedestrian shopping street.



(Fig. 4.41) The pedestrian shopping street is paved and furnished with street furniture and plants.



(Fig. 4.42) The Sun Wen Road West in Zhongshan has been revitalized into a pedestrian shopping street which pioneered other such developments in Guangdong.



(Fig. 4.43) The verandah shop-houses along the Shuidong Road are now decaying and losing their vitality.

Chaozhou



Zhaoqing



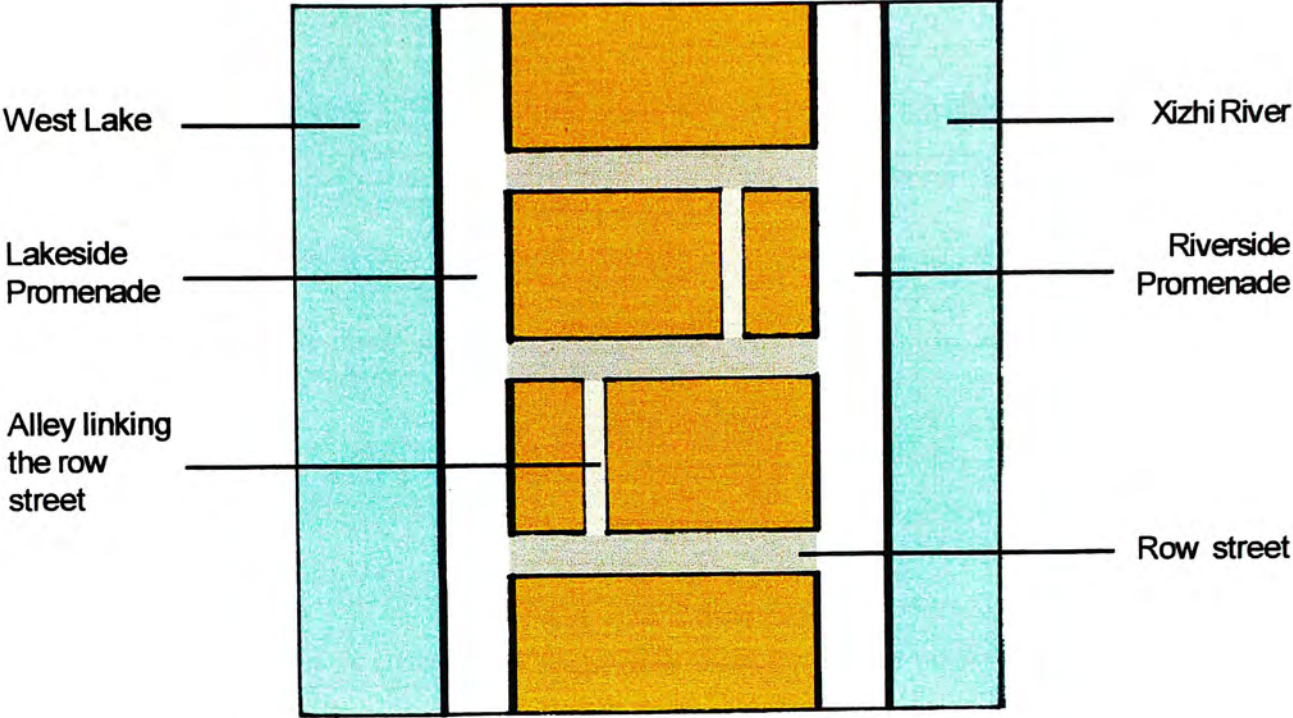
Huizhou



Leizhou



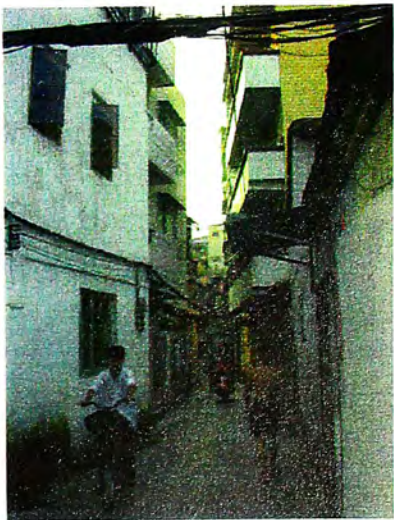
(Fig. 4.44) In many Guangdong cities, a major road cutting across the city was constructed during the Mingguo period and dominated by the verandah shop-houses. However, many of them are deteriorating and vacant.



A typical row street



Alley linking the row street



(Fig. 4.45) The special row street pattern in Huizhou.



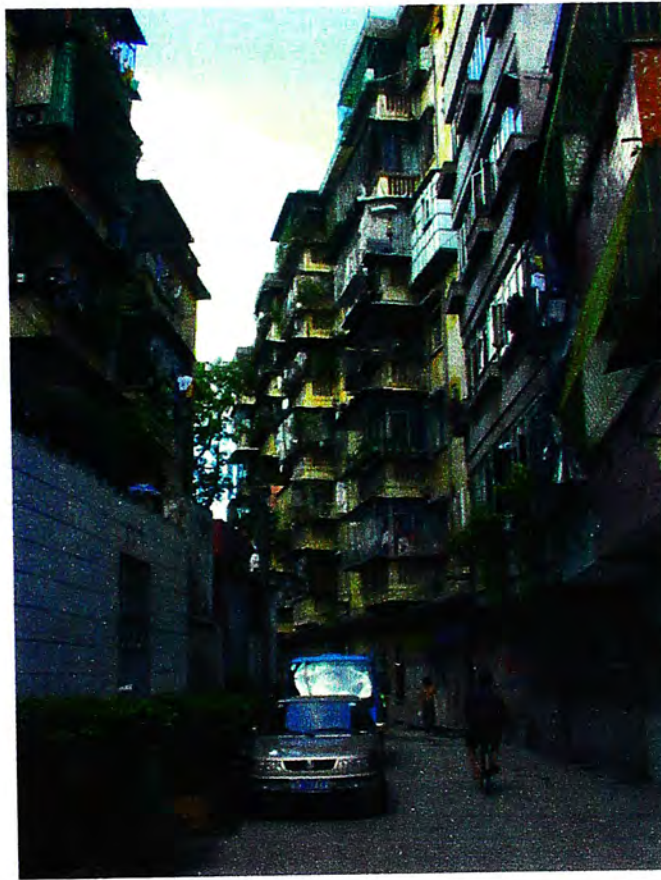
(Fig. 4.46) The arcaded buildings along the Tangwei Street.



(Fig. 4.47)
 Revolutionary slogans
 are integrated with the
 building elements in an
 apartment along the
 Tangwei Street.



(Fig. 4.48) Traditional village houses remained on the Jindai Street.



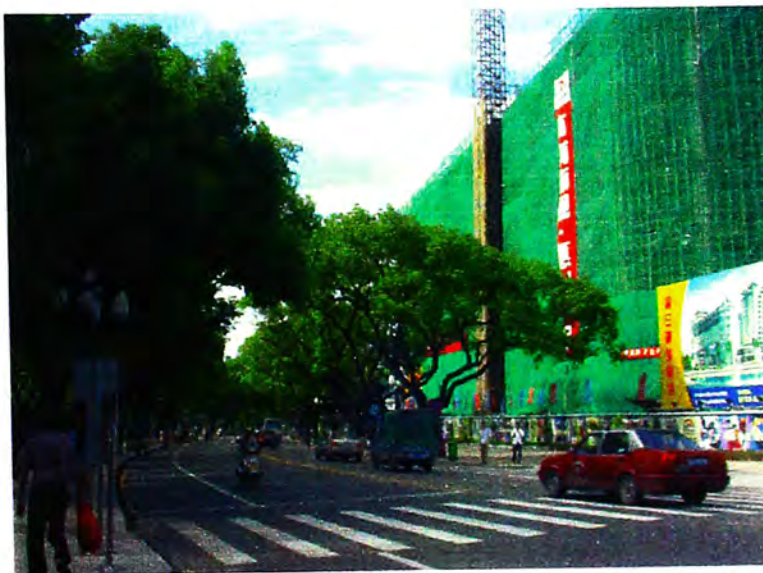
(Fig. 4.49) High residential blocks emerged on the Gonglouxia Street.



(Fig. 4.50) Double layers of buildings allow the maintaining of an intimate scale along the street front.



(Fig. 4.51) The frontages of the old houses along the row streets are preserved and turn into the gates for the residential blocks behind.



(Fig. 4.52) The Li Ri Plaza constructed on the Tangwei Street is invested by Shenzhen developer. The construction will be completed by March 2002.

4.4 EXTRACTING TANGIBLE MEMORY CUES TO INTANGIBLE ONES: TEXTS & SCENES ON THE WEST LAKE

Whenever people recalled the city Huizhou, they will immediately associate it with its picturesque landscape feature – the West Lake, which is one of the most attractive scenic spots in Guangdong. However, the West Lake is not unique in Huizhou. There are thirty-six West Lakes in China, all bearing the same name “Xihu 西湖”.¹⁴⁰ In the Guangdong Province alone, there are West Lakes in Huizhou, Chaozhou and Leizhou. In this case, among all these West Lakes, how to make the one in Huizhou outstanding? How to make it more memorable? For years, Huizhou people have tried to grasp the distinctiveness of the West Lake and crystallize it into easy-to-remember memory cues. Both the text and the distinctive scenes on the West Lake are powerful intangible cues that the Huizhou people extracted from the landscape and the place.

The West Lake described in text

Historically, many literati have tried to capture the distinctiveness of the West Lake in Huizhou by using their texts. To make the West Lake more memorable, they commonly use two metaphors to highlight its beauty. They used to associate the West Lake in Huizhou to the one in Hangzhou – the most beautiful and famous lake in China. The Song literati Yang Wenli 楊萬里, for example, remarked in his poem that among

¹⁴⁰ There is no record why the Chinese like to construct the West Lake in their city. One possible reason is because they want to achieve the equal success as the West Lake in Hangzhou. The lake was constructed artificially in the Tang Dynasty by the great poet Bo Juyi 白居易 as the reservoir for the city Hangzhou. Later in the Song Dynasty, another great poet Su Dongbo 蘇東坡 contributed greatly to the reconditioning of the lake. These two poets have made the lake famous to the whole country. The natural beauty of the lake is well known to the Chinese, particularly the ten distinctive scenes in the lake area. The West Lake has become the landmark of Hangzhou.

all those West Lakes in China, only the ones in Hangzhou 杭州, Yingzhou 潁州 and Huizhou 惠州 could compete with each other,

“Differently located Xihu,
Equally beautiful autumn,
In Jiantang, Yingshui and Luofu.”¹⁴¹
三處西湖一色秋，錢塘潁水與羅浮。

By saying that the West Lake in Huizhou can compete with the one in Hangzhou, people can easily picture how picturesque it is, for the beauty of the famous West Lake in Hangzhou has already stored deeply in the collective memory of the Chinese.

The second metaphor the literati commonly use is also related to the West Lake in Hangzhou. Many literati follow the great Song poet Su Dongbo 蘇東坡 to draw the analogy between the West Lake in Hangzhou to the nationally admired beauty Xi Shi 西施.¹⁴² However, to distinguish the one in Huizhou from the others, the literati highlight its elegance and delicacy. One of them was the Qing magistrate Wu Qian 吳騫, who addressed the purity of the West Lake in Huizhou in his poem *Yong Xihu* 咏西湖 (Praise of the West Lake),

“If the West Lake is the beauty Xi Shi,
The heavily made-up Hangzhou contrast with the pure Huizhou,
Huizhou is a delicate lady in the Zhuluo village,¹⁴³
While Hangzhou is the concubine who sings and dances to enchant the emperor.”

¹⁴¹ This is a metaphor Wu Jian 吳騫 employed to denote the three places Hangzhou 杭州, Yingzhou 潁州 and Huizhou 惠州. Jiantang 錢塘 and Yingshui 潁水 are the river's name in Hangzhou and Yingzhou respectively, while Luofu is a mountain in Huizhou prefecture.

¹⁴² Xi Shi 西施 was the concubine of the Yue emperor in the Spring and Autumn Period. She was famous of her prettiness, and was labeled by the Chinese as one of the “Four Great Beauties in history 四大美人”. The Chinese name of the West Lake, Xihu 西湖 is associated with Xi Shi because of their similar pronunciation. In Su Dongbo's 蘇東坡 famous poem *Yin Hu Shang Chu Qing Hou Yu* 飲湖上初晴兩後, he wrote that “the West Lake is the beauty Xi Shi, good looking no matter she is lightly costumed or gorgeously dressed. 若把西湖比西子，濃妝淡抹總相宜。” This verse has become the most famous analogy in describing the natural beauty of the West Lake. Other literati like Wu Jian followed this precedent and drawn the same analogy in his poem *Yong Xihu* 咏西湖.

¹⁴³ Xi Shi 西施 was living in the Zhuluo village 蘿村 before the emperor selected her as his concubine.

西湖西子比相當，濃抹杭州惠淡妝。
惠是 蘿村裏質，杭教歌舞媚君王。

Because of Wu Jian's poem, people always recall the West Lake in Huizhou as "Zhuluo Xi Zhi 蘿西子"¹⁴⁴ – the pure Xi Shi living in Zhuluo village 蘿村 before she becomes the emperor's concubine. This side-name is still commonly employed today to denote the West Lake in Huizhou.

To make people easily remember the elements that constituted the West Lake, ever since the Song Dynasty, the Huizhou people commonly employ a sonorous saying "five lakes, six bridges and eight scenes 五湖六橋八景". By five lakes, it means the West Lake being composed of five small lakes.¹⁴⁵ By six bridges, it means there are six bridges on the West Lake connecting its parts.¹⁴⁶ And by eight scenes, it means there are eight distinctive scenic spots in the vicinity of the lake area.¹⁴⁷ This old saying helps greatly the encoding of the West Lake. It sustains well today in describing the context of the West Lake, and is popularly employed in the promotion of the city's tourism (Fig. 4.53).

¹⁴⁴ Xi Zhi is another name for Xi Shi.

¹⁴⁵ The five small lakes that form the West Lake are Pinghu 平湖, Fenghu 豐湖, Ehu 鱷湖, Linghu 菱湖 and Nanhu 南湖. Not included in it is the small lake Ehu 鵝湖, which is later internalized as the city's canal.

¹⁴⁶ The six bridges on the West Lake are Xixin Bridge 西新橋, Gongbei Bridge 拱北橋, Yangxia Bridge 煙霞橋, Yingxian Bridge 迎仙橋, Mingsheng Bridge 明聖橋 and Yuantong Bridge 圓通橋. Nowadays only the Gongbei Bridge at the north of the West Lake is remained. The other five bridges are either being demolished or reconstructed. The Gongbei Bridge is now listed as a city-level protected monument by the Huizhou government.

¹⁴⁷ Those eight distinctive scenic spots scattered on the lake area are recorded in the Ming gazetteer *Huizhou Fuzhi*. Some of these scenes have already eliminated, while new scenes emerged in different time. Detailed study about the scenes in the West Lake will be followed in later sections.



- | | | | |
|---|--------------------|----|-----------------|
| 1 | Hua Zhao Hua Yua | 7 | Yu Ta Wei Lan |
| 2 | Fang Hua Qiu Yan | 8 | Su Ti Wan Yue |
| 3 | Feng Shan Hao Qi | 9 | Xi Xin Bi Shu |
| 4 | Hong Mian Chun Zui | 10 | Li Pu Feng Qing |
| 5 | Liu Dan Dian Cui | 11 | Nan Yuan Lu Xu |
| 6 | Gu Shan Su Ji | 12 | Fei E Lan Sheng |

(Plate 16a) Location of the twelve distinctive scenes of Huizhou.



1. 花州話雨
Hua Zhao Hua
Yu

Rain drop on
the flowering
island



7. 玉塔微瀾
Yu Ta Wei Lan

Jade Pagoda
lay on the
rippling lake



2. 芳華秋豔
Fang Hua Qiu
Yan

Fang Hua
Island in
colorful
autumn



8. 蘇堤玩月
Su Ti Wan
Yue

Playing moon
at the
embankment
Su Ti



3. 豐山浩氣
Feng Shan
Hao Qi

Lofty spirit at
Feng Hill



9. 西新避暑
Xi Xin Bi Shu

Relaxing in
cool Xixin
house



4. 紅棉春醉
Hong Mian
Chun Zui

Red kapok
colored the
charming
spring



10. 荔浦風清
Li Pu Feng
Qing

Clear wind
across the
lakeside litchi



5. 留丹點翠
Liu Dan Dian
Cui

Liu Dan
pavilion on
Dian Cui
Island



11. 南苑綠絮
Nan Yuan Lu
Xu

Fluffy
greenery filled
the South
garden



6. 孤山蘇跡
Gu Shan Su Ji

Traces of Su
Dongbo at Gu
Hill



12. 飛鵝攬勝
Fei E Lan
Sheng

Grasping the
view on Mt Fei
E top

The distinctive scenes in the West Lake

The distinctive scenes, “Ming Jing 名景”, is another form that the Huizhou people have adopted to increase the memorability of the West Lake. The scene provides a visualized form for people to grasp and encode the beauty of the West Lake. It is an effective intangible memory cue which extracted the visual images of the landscape and the spirit of the place. It also intertwines with the strong highlighting power of the text.

The first list of distinctive scenes in Huizhou was recorded in its gazetteer *Huizhou Fuzhi* 惠州府志 written in the Ming Dynasty (Fig. 4.54).¹⁴⁸ The list is composed of eight distinctive scenes, all centered on the West Lake. However, only the titles of the scenes were recorded without any depictions. Therefore, during the Qing Dynasty when Wu Jian 吳騫 became the magistrate of Huizhou, he wrote the *Xihu Ji Sheng* 西湖紀勝 - a record on the West Lake aimed to update and supplement the gazetteer. It began by a scroll *Xihu Quantu* 西湖全圖 showing the panorama view of the lake, which allowed people to locate the relative positions of the distinctive scenes (Fig. 4.55). Following the scroll, Wu included a textual description, a poem and a landscape painting to depict each individual scene (Fig. 4.56). (Wu Jian himself wrote some of the poems.)

Supplementing the *Huizhou Fuzhi*, Wu Jian added six other distinctive scenes to the list.¹⁴⁹ No record has indicated the rationale behind his addition to the list, or if the addition was simply because of his own interpretations and choices. However, two

¹⁴⁸ The eight scenes recorded in the Ming gazetteer are titled He Feng Fan Zhao 鶴峰返照, Yan Ta Xia Hui 雁塔斜暉, Feng Hu Yu Chang 豐湖漁唱, Ban Jing Qiao Gui 半徑樵歸, Tao Yuan Ri Nuan 桃園日暖, Li Pu Feng Qing 荔浦風清, Shan Si Lan Yan 山寺嵐煙 and Shui Lian Fei Bao 水濂飛瀑. Each of them describes a distinctive scenery in the West Lake area.

¹⁴⁹ The six distinctive scenes added by Wu Jian are titled Xiang Ling Yun Fei 象嶺雲飛, He Jiang Luo Dai 合江羅帶, Huang Tang Wan Zhong 黃塘晚鐘, Su Ti Wan Yue 蘇堤玩月, Bang Ling Chun Lin 榜嶺春霜, Xi Xin Bi Shu 西新避暑.

general reasons are deemed logical. Firstly, it is because of the change in physical environment. As the environment that constitutes the scene has changed, the scenes are revised accordingly. For example, the destruction of the Yongfu Temple 永福寺 has led to the elimination of the scene *Shan Si Lan Yan* 山寺嵐煙, the mountain temple amid haze. An opposite example is the addition of the scene *Feng Shan Hao Qi* 豐山浩氣, the lofty spirit at Feng Hill. The new scene is contributed by the new war memorial for the revolutionary heroes on top of the Feng Hill. Secondly, it is because of the change in people's lives. The scene *Ban Jing Qiao Gui* 半徑樵歸, for example, narrates the scenario of troops of woodcutters returning home along the paths on the mountain. However, it is eliminated today as there are no more woodcutters in the city.

Nevertheless, one thing in common is that these scenes, though marked at different epochs, are all centered on the West Lake. This contrasts to the case in Guangzhou, where some of the distinctive scenes today are framed in an urban context. This also reflects the Huizhou people's fondness for the city's natural landscape, as well as the indispensable relationship between the landscape and the scene. The list of distinctive scenes in Huizhou keeps evolving through time. Today, there are twelve distinctive scenes identified.

Not only does the content of the list in Huizhou evolve over time, but the ways that depict the distinctive scenes also change. To promote the city's tourism, the Huizhou government publishes numerous visual materials to introduce the West Lake to the tourists, such as maps, promotional pamphlets and tour guidebooks. The descriptions on the distinctive scenes can also be found in the web site of the Huizhou government (Fig. 4.57).

The process to extract the tangible memory cues into intangible ones, in Huizhou's case, seems mainly driven by the literati and government officials.

However, there is great potential to change this trend and involve public participation. (The significance for involving the general public in the extraction process has been discussed in Chapter Three.) Throughout history, the Huizhou people are actively involved in making urban changes – the reconditioning of the West Lake in the Song Dynasty, the refilling of low-lying grounds and the rerouting of the Xinkai River in the republic era... all shows the Huzihou people's efforts in improving their own environment. This tradition has been sustained today. They are active in voicing their opinions regarding their city's development, through means such as discussing in the virtual forum on the Internet (Fig. 4.58). In view of this, the feasibility to involve the general public in the extraction process is worth exploring in Huizhou.

惠州府志卷之二

輿地

形勝

惠州古名梁化 梁龍川 隋海豐 唐博羅 宋亦稱惠陽羅浮

東接桐湖北連汀賴鼓角導其前羅浮擁其後龍川浚水二流會為江而環其左橫槎簾洞二源鍾為湖而縈其右五嶺東南負山面海壯哉一大郡也昔人謂漢之名部越之沃野諒哉

惠陽沃野千里號為名郡層巒疊嶺列峙屏垣廣澤雙江汪洋周護依郡曰歸善城在隔水仰石埭俯豐湖東南有海港焉置平海所為外藩西北博羅西鎮羅浮東懸

惠州府志卷之三 輿地形勝

象嶺龍江榕溪迴繞左右萃靈據勝甲於天南矣東曰海豐陸豐負峻嶺臨大洋碣石一衛孤懸海表翼以甲子捷勝二所稱重鎮焉北長窰九曲雄峙溪山稱勝東永安雞嶂琴江毓靈獻秀東北河源桂山如屏槎江為帶龍川霍山嵒峰互為雄傑洊水東江蜿蜒縈抱是古循之故壤趙陀之遺風也和平控閭固廣實稱扼塞連平北章貢右韶石為九連萬山之保障此惠郡形勝之大畧也

附府治曰歸善縣古名為欣樂 晉繁大之邦要衝之會羣 山基布雙江合流北鎮象頭鶴峰挺秀南峙天馬榜山呈祥西湖浩蕩劍潭鎖鑰允稱首邑大觀矣

八景

鶴峯返照 鴈塔斜暉 豐湖魚唱 半徑樵歸

桃園日暖 荔浦風清 山寺嵐烟 水簾飛瀑

府治西北三十里曰博羅縣古名博羅無改 宋書云二漢太康地志 象山屹立浮碇殿之龍江抱其東南而羅浮作傳羅

之區靈氣萃焉磅礴鬱積益必有當之者形勝甲諸邑

八景

浮碇朝暾 榕溪夜月 佛跡湯泉 羅浮仙境

獅嶺驪珠 象山積翠 石鼓農耕 龍隄樵唱

府治東北四百二十里曰龍川縣 顏師古曰裴氏廣州記云本博羅之東鄉也 龍泉地而出即穴亦名雷鄉 晉海珠嵒峯蟠踞雄厚

惠州府志卷之三 輿地形勝

水東江縈帶清遠蓋趙陀遺封循州舊壤其稱勝久矣

八景

太乙仙巖 嵒嶂秋月 龍潭飛瀑 梅村橫舟

嵒峯霽雪 合溪溫泉 東山暮鐘 龍臺晚望

府治北一百五十里曰河源縣古名新豐休吉 隋俱 桂山西鎮龍江東抱土原沃衍據郡上游風氣猶近醴焉

八景

梧峯夕照 桂岫晴嵐 寶江漁唱 石徑樵歸

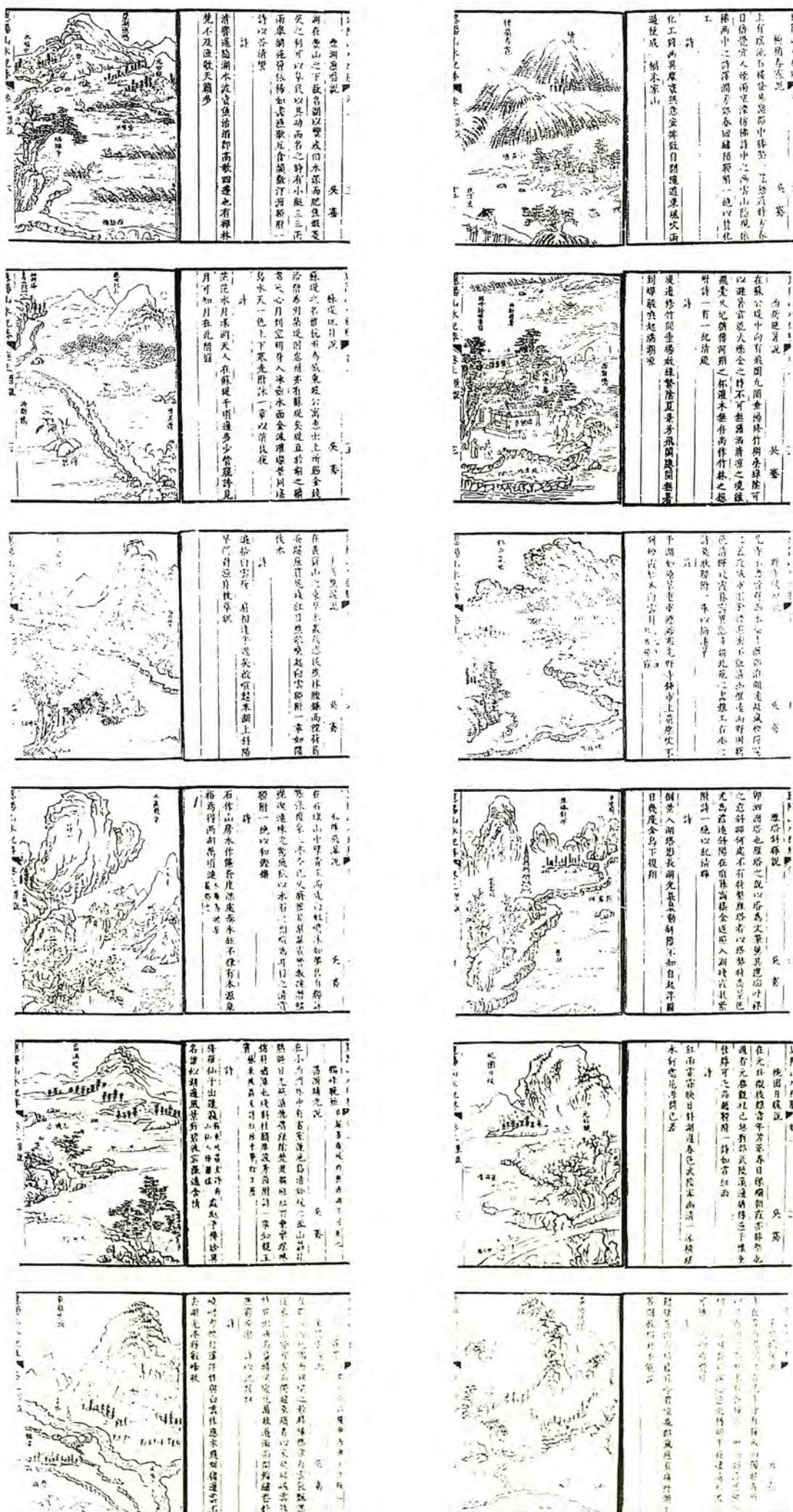
龍津晚渡 東浦春耕 龜峯古塔 燕石長亭

府治東北四百里曰連平州明崇禎六年平九連山寇割河源和平長甯及翁源四邑地立州治層峯簇擁飛壑

(Fig. 4.54) The first list of distinctive scene in Huizhou was recorded in its gazetteer *Huizhou Fuzhi*. Each distinctive scene bears a poetic title composed of four Chinese characters.



(Fig. 4.55) The *Xihu Quantu* shows the panorama view of the West Lake (Top). Partial view of the painting (Bottom).



(Fig. 4.56) The *Xihu Ji Sheng* had depicted the twelve distinctive scenes in Huizhou.



(Fig. 4.57) The Huizhou government uses the Internet as a propaganda tool to promote the West Lake.



(Fig. 4.58) The Huizhou people voice their opinions to the environment through the virtue forum on the Internet.



(Fig. 4.59) The long embankment on the West Lake was name as Su Ti to memorize the great Song Poet Su Dongbo.

4.5 INCARNATING INTANGIBLE MEMORY CUES TO TANGIBLE ONES: THE FORMATION OF NEW PLACES

The intangible memory cues texts and scenes that extracted from the tangible ones are able to be stored deeply in Huizhou people's memories, for they are better encoded and deeply processed. In return, can they be incarnated into tangible forms that make our physical environment sustain the collective memory as well? This is a question that concerns many conservationists today, along with a rising awareness about intangible heritage. Although it is not yet answered thoroughly, we can still find many examples how the Huizhou people, to a certain degree, translate the intangible memory cues into places in the city.

The creation of new places

Among all the texts that describe the West Lake in Huizhou, those written by the Song poet Su Dongbo 蘇東坡 (1037 – 1101 A.D.) play a significant role in retrieving people's collective memory to the West Lake. Su was a relegated official exiled in Huizhou in the Song Dynasty.¹⁵⁰ In many Chinese's memory, Su is closely associated with the West Lakes in China, because he was always exiled to those cities that had a West Lake.¹⁵¹ When Su was the magistrate of Hangzhou he contributed greatly to the

¹⁵⁰ People labeled Su Dongbo 蘇東坡 as a great genius for his outstanding talent and achievement in literature, poetry, calligraphy and painting. Young at an age of twenty-one, Su had ranked top in the royal examination and hence acquired an official post. However, he disagreed with the new reform proposed by the central government and wrote poems to satirize it. His criticism angered the emperor and was therefore relegated and sent in exile.

¹⁵¹ In the fourth year of the Yuanyou 元祐 reign, Su Dongbo was relegated to Hangzhou and helped the planning of the city's West Lake. Two years later he was sent to Yingzhou, a city also with a West Lake. Once again, he was accused of criticizing the government's policy. Hence in the first year of the Shaosheng reign (1094 A.D.), Su was exiled to the farther south place Huizhou, at a city again with the West Lake. In his fluctuating life Su and the West Lake seemed inextricable. "Once there was Su Dongbo, there was the West Lake 東坡到處有西湖", an old saying described the close association of the Su and the West Lake as in people's memory.

reconditioning of the West Lake and the construction of its long embankment.¹⁵²

Coincidentally, after he was exiled to Huizhou in 1094 A.D., Su helped again with the construction of the long embankment on the West Lake of Huizhou.¹⁵³ The Huizhou people were so grateful to him.¹⁵⁴ They followed the Hangzhou people and named the long embankment as Su Ti (Su's embankment) to honor the great poet. (Again, the Huizhou people had intended to associate their West Lake with the one in Hangzhou, and the arrival of Su to their city greatly enhanced such an association.) The Su Ti 蘇堤 hence has become the most attractive place in the West Lake until today (Fig. 4.59). Although no record has been found implying that Su Ti was the key reference point in the planning of the West Lake, it is undeniable that from Su Ti it is able to view most of the listed scenes (Fig. 4.60). Or, is it because the Su Ti is too significant and hence increase the chances for people to be aware of its surrounding scenery? Just like how the Qing Magistrate Wu Jian 吳騫 discovered the scene *Su Ti Wan Yue* 蘇堤玩月?¹⁵⁵

Because of the great fame that Su carried, the West Lake was made famous; and because of the West Lake, the small city Huizhou was made known to the rest of China, as what the proverb commonly preached in Huizhou: "Once Su arrived Nanhai, the

¹⁵² While Su Dongbo was sent to Hangzhou as the city's magistrate, he initiated the construction of the long embankment for the West Lake to store lake water. He also planted rows of willow trees along the embankment, which made the West Lake as beautiful as a landscape painting. To memorize him, people named the embankment Su Ti 蘇堤 after him.

¹⁵³ Su Dongbo's beloved concubine Wang Zhaoyun 王朝雲 was dead and buried in the Gu Hill 孤山 across the West Lake. One night, Su Dongbo dreamt of her. In his dream, Wang waded across the lake in order to meet him. Su was deeply touched, and aware of the inconvenience for the local people to cross the lake. With a sympathetic heart, he raised funds for the construction of the long embankment to connect the city and the Gu Hill through the lake.

¹⁵⁴ When the construction of the embankments completed, the whole city celebrated it with joy. In the poem *Xi Xin Qiao* 西新橋 written by Su Dongbo himself it recorded the celebration,

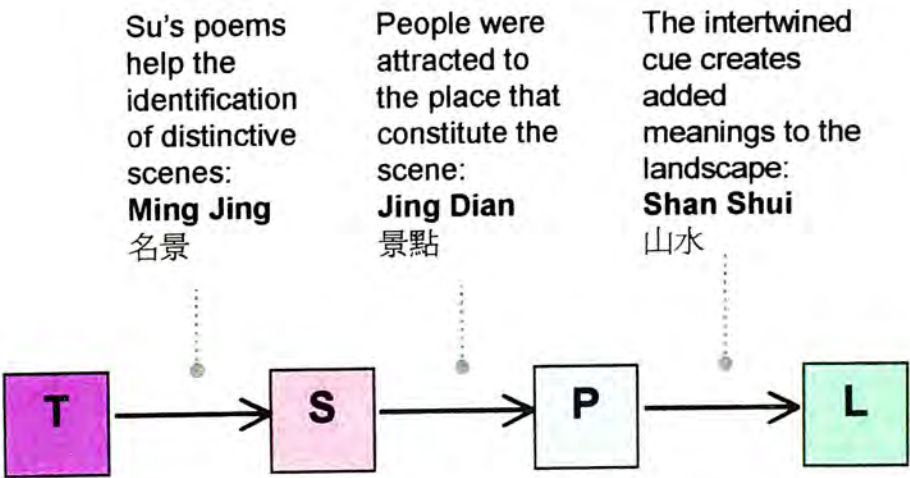
"The joyful elders gathered, with all their wine-jars full.
Will not dismiss, the banquet lasted for three days.
Kill all the chickens from the western village to celebrate."
父老喜雲集，簞壺無空携。
三日飲不散，殺盡西村雞。

¹⁵⁵ Refer Chapter Three for the formation of the distinctive scene *Su Ti Wan Yue* 蘇堤玩月.

world can no longer look down to Huizhou 一自坡公謫南海，天下不敢小惠州!” Su had written over two hundred poems and prose during his stay in Huizhou. Those places and scenes, once described in Su’s texts, have become famous scenic spots in the West Lake. Like in his poem *Jiangyue* 江月五首之一, Su poetically narrated the scene of the pagoda at the lakeside as,

“At midnight the moon emerge from the mountain,
The Yu pagoda lay down on the rippling lake.”
一更山吐月，玉塔卧微澜。

Because of this poem, people can identify the scene *Yu Ta Wei Lan* 玉塔微澜 (the Yu pagoda and the ripples) (Fig. 4.61). They are attracted to the place that constituted the scene (the pagoda). The place, the scene, and the poems have intertwined together which create added meanings to the landscape elements (the ripples on the lake) (Fig. 4.62).



(Fig. 4.62) The process of incarnation from intangible memory cues to tangible memory cues.

The poet’s significant influences to Huizhou have been sustained until today. The Huizhou people created new places to memorize Su Dongbo. Gu Hill 孤山 is another place besides the embankment Su Ti that is significant in recalling people’s

memory to the great poet. However, in the past no one would associate this place with Su, except that his concubine Wang Zhaoyun 王朝雲 was buried there. Nevertheless, in 1984, the Huizhou government preserved and repaired the grave of Wang 朝雲墓 and constructed the Dongbo Memorial Hall 東坡紀念館 on top of Gu Hill to commemorate Su. It also erected a statute of Su and carved his most influential writings and calligraphy into stone tablets (Fig. 4.63). After all these interventions, Gu Hill eventually becomes a new place people can memorize the great poet. The place also contributes to the formation of the new scene *Gu Shan Su Ji* 孤山蘇跡 - the traces of Su Dongbo on the Gu Hill.

The transformation of scene to place

Not only those scenes devised by Su's text, in fact, many distinctive scenes in Huizhou have been transformed into specific places. A remarkable case is found on the scene *Li Pu Feng Qing* 荔浦風清. "Li" in Chinese means litchi, while "Pu" means lakeside - the scene originally narrates the beautiful scenery when the clear wind blowing across the red litchi trees that grew on the lakeside. Despite the disappearance of the scene today, the lakeside is now simply called *Li Pu Feng Qing* 荔浦風清 because the association of the title to the place has been deeply rooted in people's memories (Fig.4.64). Eventually, *Li Pu Feng Qing* 荔浦風清 is no longer denoting the distinctive scenes but serves as the symbol indicating the place once constituting the scene.

The place is now half-privatized and half-open to the public. The government has constructed a hostel there for civil servants (Fig. 4.65). (The hostel is also called "Li Pu Feng Qing 荔浦風清".) These hostel blocks have occupied a large part of the place, leaving a relatively small piece of land as the public lakeside park, where the local people can enjoy a scenic view to the West Lake (Fig. 4.66). It is also a popular place

for the elderly (Fig. 4.67).

The transformation of the scenes into places and their privatization is not limited to *Li Pu Feng Qing* 荔浦風清. Some places that constitute the scenes are now occupied by private sectors, including the Peiyun Island 披雲島 and the Fanghua Island 芳華州 that to the distinctive scenes *Xi Xin Bi Shu* 西新避暑 and *Fang Hua Qiu Yan* 芳華秋豔 respectively. Both the islands are no longer public places.

Although a pleasant environment can still be found at these places, the essence of the distinctive scenes – the litchi trees for example – are missing today. However, will it increase the memorability of the place if the scene is revitalized, such as replanting the litchi trees on *Li Pu Feng Qing* 荔浦風清? If the distinctive scene can be recreated on the place, then the scene and the place can intertwined together to form stronger multiple cues in sustaining the Huizhou people's collective memory.

View to *Hong Mian Chun Zui*



View to *Hua Zhao Hua Yu*



View to *Liu Dan Dian Cui* &
Fang Hua Qiu Yan



View to *Xi Xin Bi Shu*



(Fig. 4.60) From the
embankment *Su Ti*, one
can view most of the
distinctive scenes of the
West Lake.

View to *Yu Ta Wei Lan*





(Fig. 4.61) Many people are attracted to the scene *Yu Ta Wei Lan* because of the poems written by Su Dongbo. The scenes has transformed into a popular place.



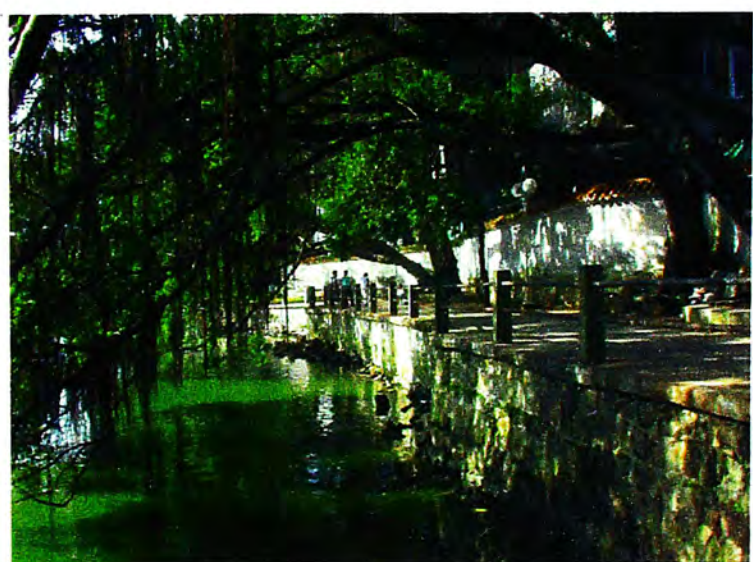
(Fig. 4.63) Gu Hill is now a place to memorize Su Dongbo. There constructed the statue of Su, the grave of Su concubine, the Dongbo Memorial Hall and a gallery showing his poetry and calligraphy.



(Fig. 4.64) The title of the scene *Li Pu Feng Qing* is now commonly used to denote the place.



(Fig. 4.65) The place *Li Pu Feng Qing* is now privatized by a government hostel for the civil servants.



(Fig. 4.66) The place *Li Pu Feng Qing* provides an enjoyable waterside environment to the Huizhou people.



(Fig. 4.67) Elderly playing ball games at the place *Li Pu Feng Qing*.

4.6 THE INTERTWINING OF EFFECTIVE MEMORY CUES IN HUIZHOU: THE LAKE-CITY-RIVER RELATIONSHIP

Throughout history Huizhou is famous for its scenic landscapes: the West Lake and the rivers. By the late 1990s, the Huizhou Planning Bureau initiated two long-term planning projects to the city. They are the “Revitalization Plan of the West Lake and “Two Rivers, Four Banks Development Plan”. Both projects are concerned with the dominant water bodies in the city: the West Lake and the two rivers Dong and Xizhi.

The “Revitalization Plan of the West Lake” covers an area of 3.2 square kilometers, in which 1.478 square kilometers belong to the water area. The whole revitalization process would last for ten years. The plan tries to develop the environmental, cultural and touristic potentials of the West Lake. Through means such as water purification and silt clean up, it aims to revitalize the West Lake into a pleasant environment with “clear water, extensive greenery, leveled paths, and abundant lighting.

Another project concerns the Dong River and the Xizhi River. The “Two Rivers, Four Banks Development Plan” aims to improve the environment of the two rivers, and develops their riverbanks at Qiaodong, Qiaoxi, Jiangbei and Xiabu areas. The development will involve a total area of 421,900 square meters. The length of the riverbanks identified for development will be as long as 38.8 kilometers. The Xiabu Riverside Park completed in 1998 is a pioneer project under this development plan. Opposite to the Xiabu Riverside Park, the riverbank at Qiaodong is now under revitalization. In the very near future, a 218,800 square meter riverside park will also be built in Jiangbei area along the north bank of the Dong River. The construction will involve the removal of old village houses and squatter huts in the area.

These two projects are all significant in revitalizing the environment of the two water bodies, in particular the Xiabu Riverside Park, which has already proved successful in providing a nice waterside recreational space for the local Huizhou people. However, what is insufficient in these two projects is that they only focus on individual landscape features without being concerned with the linkage between them. In fact, Huizhou is basically composed of three elements: the West Lake nurtures distinctive scenes, and the city manifests into places that carry spirits, while the rivers give high defensibility and easy accessibility to Huizhou. However, rather than existing in a discrete manner, they form an inter-relationship dependent upon each other. This unique Lake-City-River relationship is the strongest multiple memory cue, resulting from the intertwining of the effective memory cues, all associated with landscape, place, scene and text; and is powerful in retrieving people's collective memory to Huizhou. However, the question is: how to enable this Lake-City-River relationship, besides the fact that they are simply geographically attached to each other?

The artist Huang Chengqin 黃澄欽 draws a painting of old Huizhou based on his own memory. His note to the painting grants us insights to answer this question ,

"In my dream, I am rowing on a small boat on the West Lake. My boat passes through the watergate 'Lian Rang Zhi Jian' and enters the lake Upper Ehu. I circle around the Yin Shan Pavilion at the lake center, and pass underneath the bridge Gong Qing Qiao. Through the bridge, my boat enters into the lake Lower Ehu, and approaching straight to the watergate on the Clock Tower. I can easily pick the ripe Litchi along the two sides of the lake. The weeping willow touches my face softly when my boat flows underneath it. Under the cool moon and clear wind, there spreads the songs from the lakeside... this is not a dream, this is my memory to my children!"¹⁵⁶

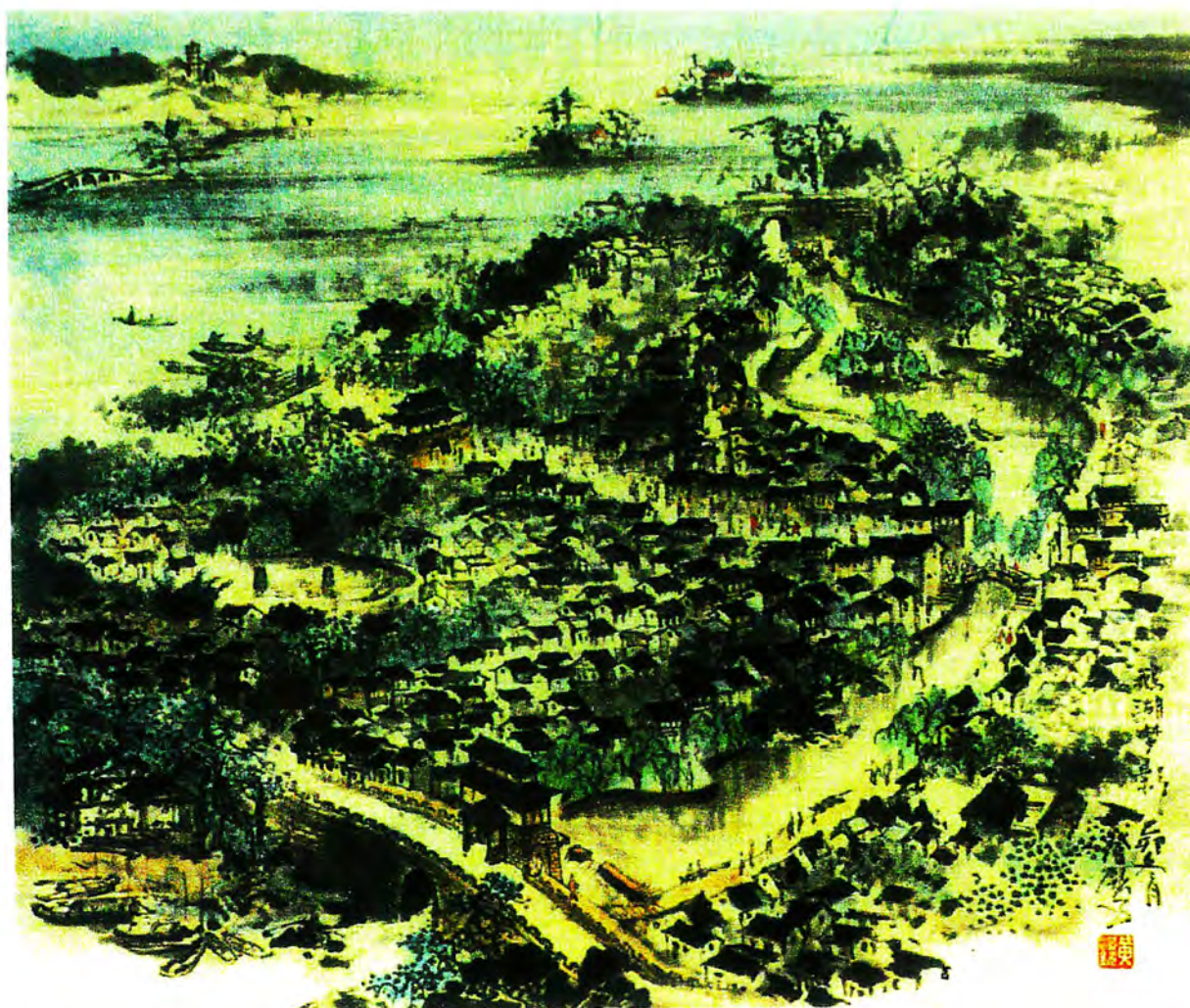
From Huang's memory we grasp an image on old Huizhou: it is a place

¹⁵⁶ 黃澄欽，*畫說惠州西湖*（哈爾濱：哈爾濱出版社，2000），23。

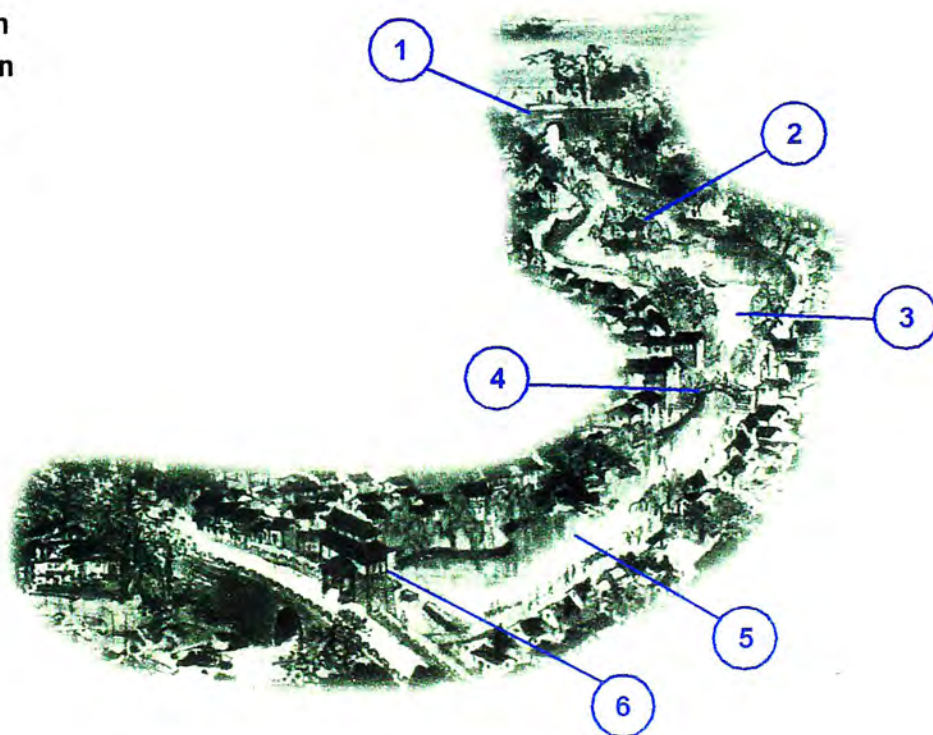
dominated by the water bodies. Ehu 鵞湖 was crucial in enhancing the Lake-City-River relationship in old Huizhou. It served multi-faceted roles in the city:

1. Symbolically, it created a water-belt that connected the two dominant landscape, making these two and the city to weave into a coherent whole;
2. Functionally, it discharged the flooded water from the West Lake into the Xizhi River, and allowed water traffic through the city;
3. Aesthetically, it provided leisure places with delightful scenery on the water bodies and the water edges.

It seems appropriate to adopt the water bodies as the medium to enable and reinforce the Lake-City-River relationship in Huizhou, for it is a landscape element extremely crucial to the development of Guangdong. However, sadly Ehu no longer exists today. Due to the lack of awareness about environmental protection, Ehu gradually dried out during the early People's Republic period. Finally, in the 1950s it was filled up in the large campaign led by the Huizhou government. The reclaimed land is now turned into a pedestrian shopping street. Nevertheless, the vivid memory of the Ehu still persisted in the collective memory of this generation's Huizhou people. Before it fades out, is it possible for them to recreate the Ehu again so as to sustain their collective memory? This seemingly difficult action is indeed possible if we understand the urban history of Huizhou - the Huizhou people have always reconditioned their landscape, such as the construction of the West Lake and the Xinkai River 新開河 to fit the city's development.

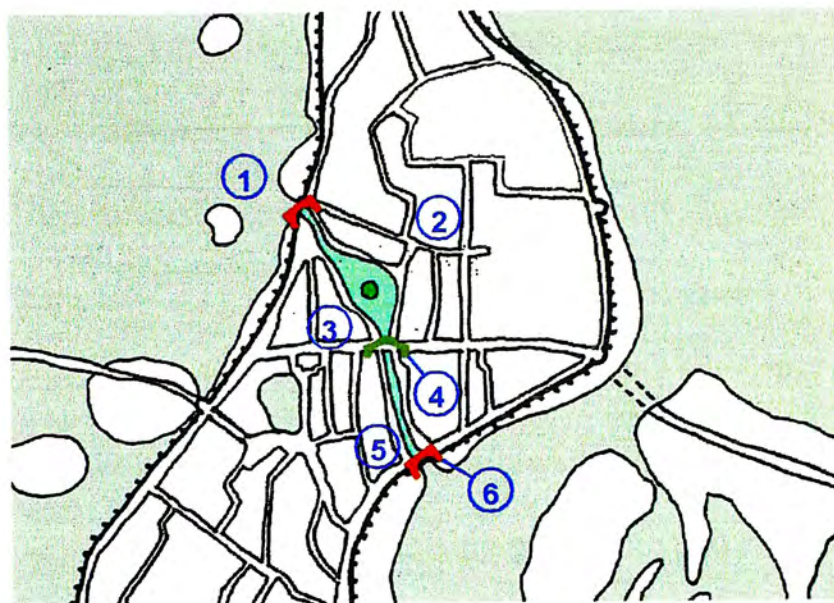


1. Lian Rang Zhi Jian
2. Ying Shan Pavilion
3. Upper Ehu
4. Gong Qing Qiao
5. Lower Ehu
6. Clock Tower



(Plate 17a) Ehu as memorized by the Huizhou artist.

1. Lian Rang Zhi Jian
2. Ying Shan Pavilion
3. Upper Ehu
4. Gong Qing Qiao
5. Lower Ehu
6. Clock Tower



The ancient Ehu (top) was reclaimed and turned into the present pedestrian shopping street (bottom).

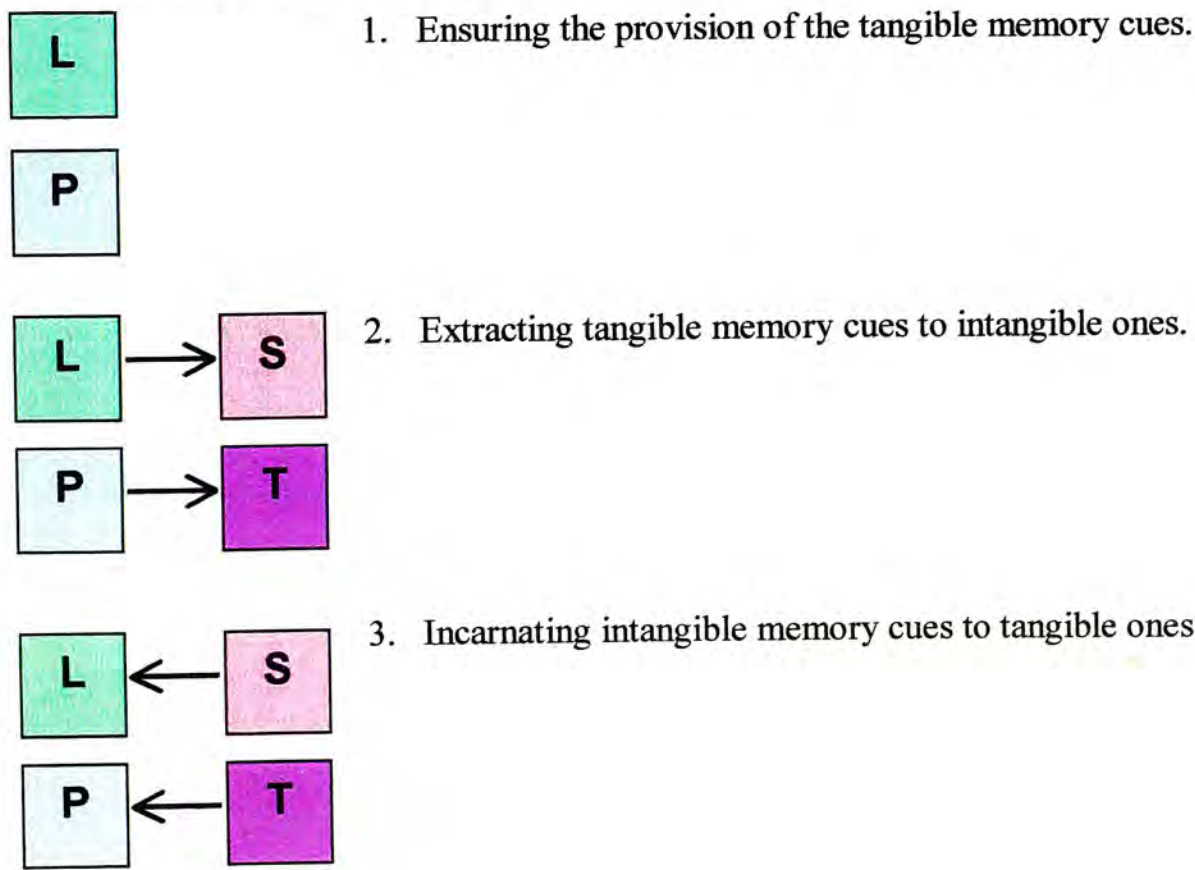


(Plate 17b) Ehu in memory and at present.

SUMMARY

In Huizhou, the effective memory cues are not working in discrete manner. Instead, they inter-relate with, and dependable to, each other. No matter whether they are tangible or intangible by nature, pre-existed or post-existed in sequence, they altogether contributed to the effective retrieval of our collective memory. However, if they exist alone in the city, their effects in memory recall will be greatly degraded, for extraction will results in better encoding and deep processing, incarnation will improve the physical environment, and intertwining will encourage the formation of stronger multiple cues. Only if we revitalize the inter-relationships between these effective memory cues, we are able to ensure the sustaining of collective memory.

Concepts on the revitalization of the effective memory cues





4. Enhancing the intertwining of effective memory cues

CHAPTER FIVE: PRINCIPLES TO REVITALIZE THE INTER-
RELATIONSHIPS OF THE EFFECTIVE MEMORY CUES IN HUIZHOU

OBJECTIVES	PRINCIPLE	STRATEGY
<p>1. Provision Ensuring the continuous provision of the tangible memory cues in city</p> <div> <div>L</div> <div>P</div> </div>	<p>Revitalizing the landscape and place in Huizhou.</p>	<p>1.1 Revitalizing the landscape elements in Huizhou through sensitive environmental protection.</p> <p>1.2 Maintaining the spirit of the place in Huizhou through careful development control.</p>
<p>2. Extraction Extracting the tangible memory cues to intangible ones</p> <div> <div>L</div> <div>P</div> <div>S</div> <div>T</div> </div>	<p>Extracting the distinctiveness of the landscape and place in Huizhou into visualized and readable forms through public participations.</p>	<p>2.1 Updating today's list of Huizhou Ming Jing through public election.</p> <p>2.2 Promoting the contemporary Huizhou Ming Jing through educational programme and propaganda campaign.</p> <p>2.3 Exploring new mediums to depict the distinctiveness of Huizhou.</p>
<p>3. Incarnation Incarnating the intangible memory cues to tangible ones</p> <div> <div>L</div> <div>P</div> <div>S</div> <div>T</div> </div>	<p>Incarnating the texts and distinctive scenes in Huizhou into physical environment.</p>	<p>3.1 Revitalizing the landscape and place places that associate with the texts and the distinctive scenes.</p> <p>3.2 Protecting the natural elements that constitute the texts and the distinctive scenes.</p>
<p>4. Intertwining Enhancing the intertwining of effective memory cues</p> <div> <div>L</div> <div>P</div> <div>S</div> <div>T</div> </div>	<p>Reinforcing the Lake-City-River relationship through the recreation of the water-linkage.</p>	<p>4.1 Recreating Ehu as the water-belt that links the West Lake and the Xizhi River.</p> <p>4.2 Redesigning the water edges to encourage the contact with the water bodies.</p>

5.1 REVITALIZING THE LANDSCAPE AND PLACE IN HUIZHOU

The provision of the effective memory cues is essential to memory retrieval. The tangible memory cues that specifically encoded the Guangdong cities are the geneses that devise the intangible memory cues. Therefore, the key step for successful urban conservation in Guangdong is to ensure the continuous provision of these tangible memory cues in its cities.

In Guangdong generally and in Huizhou specifically, the landscape and the place are the tangible memory cues that best capture the distinctiveness of the city. The revitalization of them relies mainly on environmental protections and development controls. However, since many conservationists in history have already proposed ways to achieve these goals, this thesis is not intended to discuss these ways in details, for each of them will contribute to a single thesis. Rather, this thesis has discussed the revitalizing of the inter-relationship of the effective memory cues, which will be shown in Principle 2 to 4.

Strategy 1.1: Revitalizing the landscape elements in Huizhou through sensitive environmental protection

The disappearance of the Ehu alarms us that the lack of environmental protection will lead to the elimination of the landscape in the city. To avoid this, sensitive environmental protection should be implemented to the water bodies in Huizhou. Both the two revitalization projects proposed by the Huizhou Planning Bureau aim to improving the environment along the water edges, as well as protecting the ecology and improve water quality. The “Two Rivers, Four Banks Development Plan” and the “Revitalization Plan of the West Lake” are good examples that shows the Huizhou people’s concerns about the water bodies.

Strategy 1.2: Maintaining the spirit of the place in Huizhou through careful development control

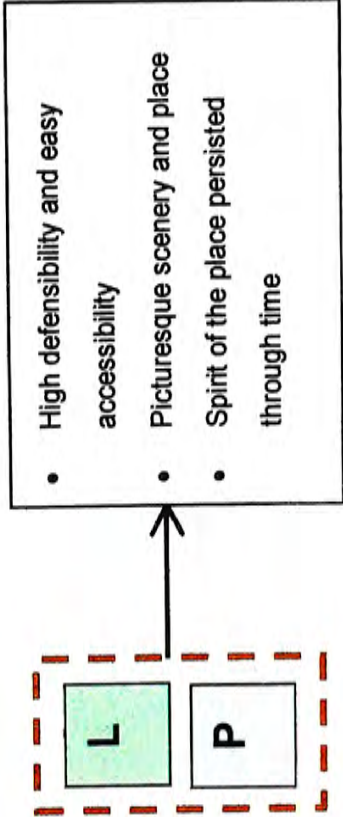
Like the landscape which is now threatened by environmental pollution, the characteristic places in Huizhou are also under threat from rapid urban growth. We have to protect these places from displacement by new developments. However, we have also to avoid bounding ourselves in nostalgia and preventing these places from propelling developments. In this case, what has to be conserved is not the entire content but the special spirit of the place. In other words, we should implement careful development control to the place to avoid destroying those elements that contribute to its spirit.

Place	Spirit	Revitalization strategy to maintain the spirit of the place
Tu Hill & Beimen Neighborhood	Historic sense	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Preserving the historic artifacts such as the Zhongshan Memorial Hall, the remaining city wall, the Beimen neighborhood and the ancient bridge Gong Bei Qiao.
Commercial linkage	Unfailing prosperity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Extending the prosperity of the pedestrian shopping street to the Shuidong Road by revitalize it into a shopping arcade.
Residential neighborhood along the row streets	Humane atmosphere	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Maintaining the low traffic volume, preserved streetscape and intimate street scale of the neighborhoods.

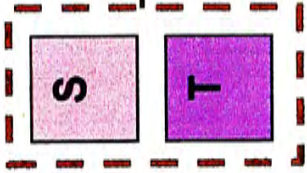
(Table. 5.1) Revitalization strategy to maintain the spirit of the place in Huizhou.

In the inner city of Huizhou, there are three main places: the Tu Hill and the attached Beimen Neighborhood, the commercial linkage, and the residential neighborhood along the row streets. Each has its own spirits contributed by specific elements. Therefore, the revitalization strategy should focus on the maintaining of their specific spirit of the place, through careful development control that govern the preservation of historic artifacts and the design of future developments (Table. 5.1).

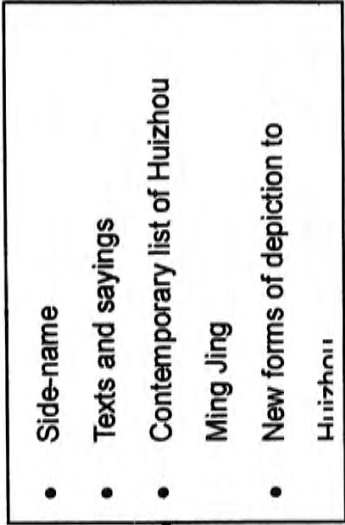
Highlighting the distinctiveness of the tangible memory cues in



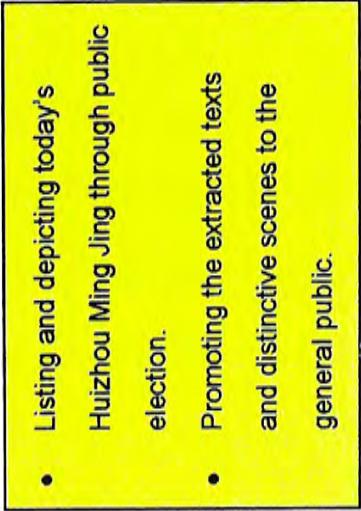
Extraction



Extracted intangible memory cues in Huizhou



Actions to enable the extraction



Extracting the tangible memory cues to intangible ones

5.2 EXTRACTING THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF THE LANDSCAPE AND PLACE IN HUIZHOU INTO VISUALIZED AND READABLE FORMS THOROUGH PUBLIC PARTICIPATIONS

People can better remember those memory cues that are specifically encoded and deeply processed. This usually involves the understanding of the distinctiveness and meanings behind the memory cues. Therefore, the tangible memory cues should be extracted into the visualized and readable forms that highlight their characters and capture their underlying meanings. In this sense, the landscape and the place in Huizhou should be extracted into the intangible memory cues - the distinctive scene Ming Jing and the texts.

The election of the contemporary Yangcheng Ba Jing reveals two approaches that can enhance the extraction process: the public participatory approach and the dynamic approach. The involvement of the general public helps to discover what have been stored in the collective memory of the people, while the dynamic evolution of the list reflects the spirit of the epoch and allows propelling developments. These two approaches should also be applied to the extraction process in Huizhou.

Strategy 2.1: Listing and depicting today's Huizhou Ming Jing through public election

Among all the landscape features in Huizhou, the West Lake is the most well known one that is deeply stored in people's collective memory. The lake itself is an important source of tangible memory cues to Huizhou - whenever people recall Huizhou, they will remember it as a city possessing a picturesque West Lake.

Traditionally, all the distinctive scenes are centered on the West Lake. Because of the scenes, people are able to visualize the picturesqueness of the lake. And with the

highlights by the poetic titles and textual or graphical depictions, people can easily grasp the distinctiveness of the scenes.

In view of the importance of the list of distinctive scenes to the West Lake, the contemporary Huizhou Ming Jing that reflects the spirit of the epoch should be identified. The government should take the initiative to organize a public election for the updating of the distinctive scenes. Not only the list, but the poetic title of the distinctive scene and its depictions should also be updated accordingly. It can be generated from the public through means such as competitions or consultations, or given by the celebrities such as political leaders, writers or artists.

Strategy 2.2: Promoting the contemporary Huizhou Ming Jing through educational programme and propaganda campaign

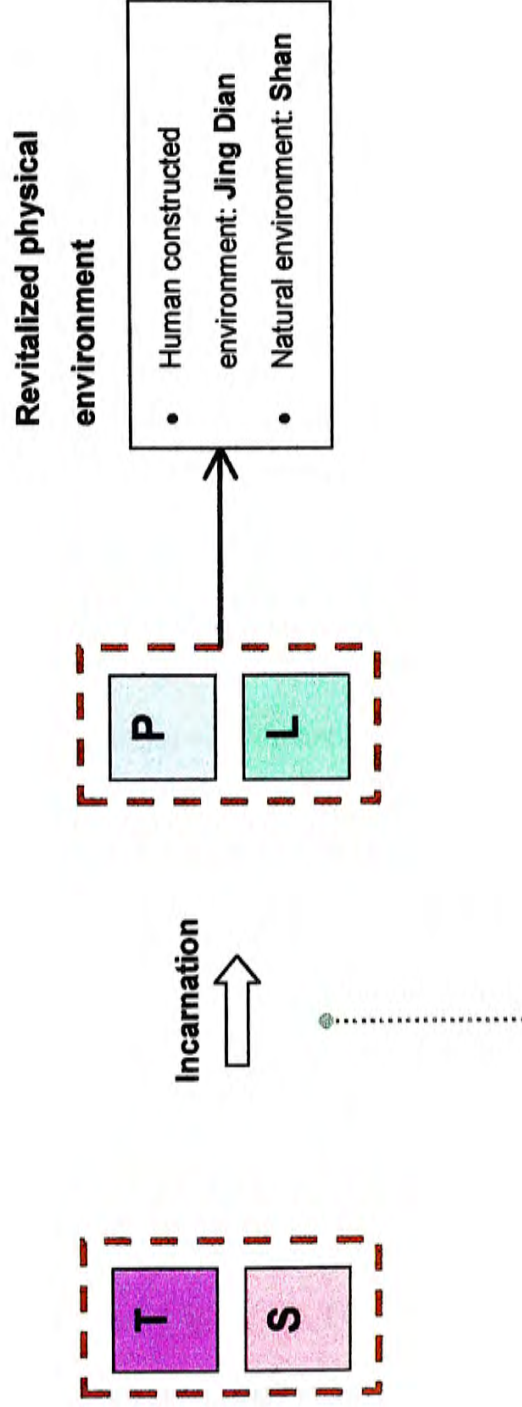
Since better encoding will result in better retrieval, the contemporary Huizhou Ming Jing listed should be largely promoted to the public so as to gain their awareness. To achieve this, educational programmes that teach the history of the city and the West Lake should be promoted in both schools and the mass media. At the same time, the Tourism Bureau should conduct a propaganda campaign to promote the newly listed Huizhou Ba Jing, for the distinctive scenes are always popular tourist attractions in China.

Strategy 2.3: Exploring new mediums to depict the contemporary Huizhou Ming Jing

History reveals that the depictions of the distinctive scenes occupy equal importance to the listing process. Among all the readable forms, the text is the most powerful media in highlighting the scene's distinctiveness, for people can project their imaginations to the depicted scenery. Besides, graphical medium such as paintings

and photographs are also effective in visualizing the distinctive scenes.

Nevertheless, along with the propelling development of the city and the evolution of the list, contemporary mediums should be explored for its depiction. In Huizhou, the local government has already stepped forward to make use of the Internet to achieve the goal. It serves also as an effective media for the public to express their opinions on the city's environment. Conclusively, all the text, painting and Internet are the mediums that easily reach and understand by the public. Therefore, in picking new mediums for depicting the distinctive scenes, we should choose those possessing the same qualities.



Actions to enable the incarnation

- Identifying significant texts and distinctive scenes that are better encoded by the Huizhou people.
- Conserving the places that associate with the texts and the distinctive scenes.

Incarnating the intangible memory cues to tangible ones

5.3 INCARNATING THE TEXTS AND DISTINCTIVE SCENES IN HUIZHOU INTO RECREATED PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The intangible memory cues are those better remembered by the people because of its encoding specificity and associative strength. However, two reasons urge us to incarnate them into physical forms. Firstly, the intangible memory cues must be made incarnate into tangible manifestations if they are to be conserved. Secondly, since the intangible memory cues reflect greatly the people's collective memory to their city, they therefore hint us those distinctive elements and desirable qualities in the city that people enjoyed. Therefore, the intangible memory cues help us to recreate the physical environment that once stored in the collective memory of the people. They serve as important guidance for our future design.

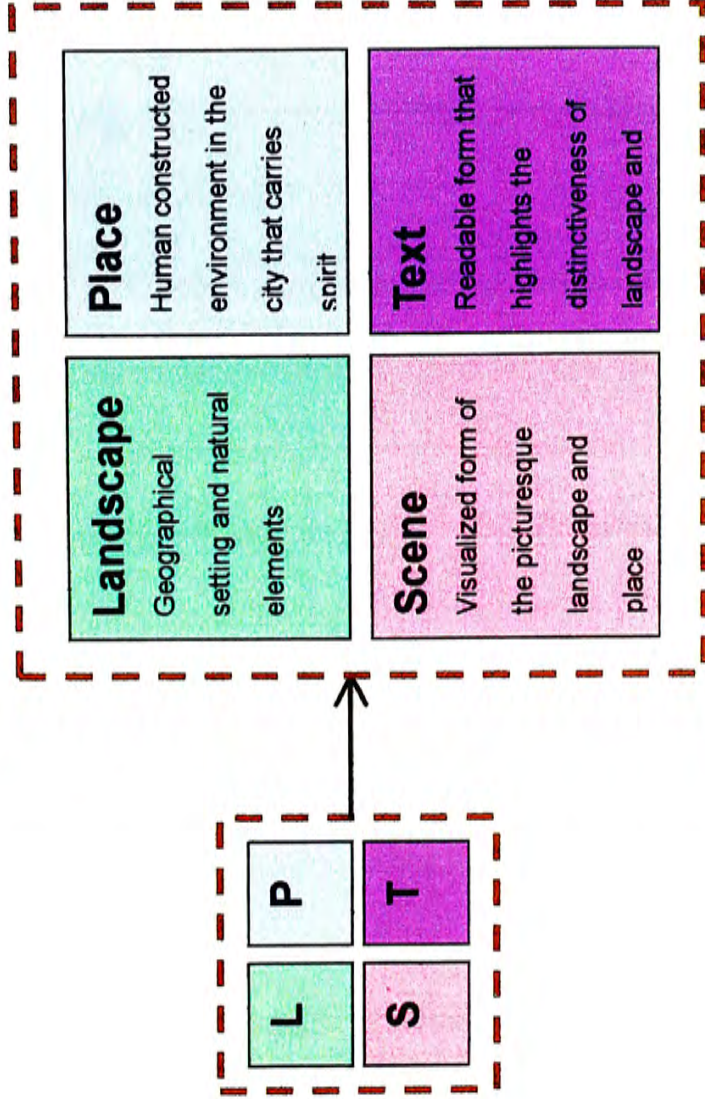
The tangible memory cues can be incarnated in two ways. The most straightforward way is to recreate the physical materials that they described, such as the construction of the "Statue of Goats" and the "State of the five immortals" in Guangzhou to retrieve people's memory to the legend behind the city's side-name "Yangcheng" (Fig. 5.11). Another way of incarnation require the translation and transformation of the conceptual meanings embedded in the intangible cues.

Strategy 3.1: Revitalizing the landscape and the places that associate with the texts and the distinctive scenes

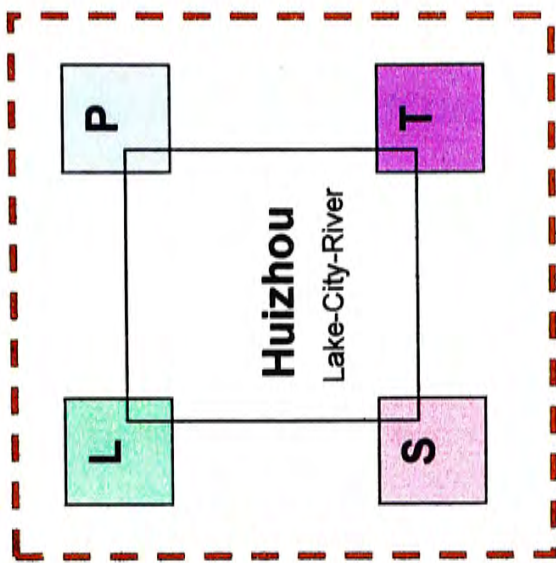
To incarnate the texts and the distinctive scenes, the landscape and the places that associate with them should be revitalized, particularly those places that have been describe in Su Dongbo's poetry. Those that have already disappeared should be reconstructed if possible, such as the replanting of litchi trees along the riverside to recreate the scene Li Pu Feng Qing.

Strategy 3.2: Translating the embedded meanings of the texts and scenes into design guidelines

The intangible memory cues are deeply processed because they involve the extraction of meanings. Huizhou's side-name Yuedong Zhongzhen, for example, captures the city's significant position in eastern Guangdong. Having understood that the side-name is gained because of Huizhou's strategic geographical locations, then how can it affect the city's future development? To resume Huizhou as the contemporary Yuedong Zhongzhen therefore requires the translation of the side-name's embedded meanings into design guidelines that suit contemporary taste. Strategy should be developed to help Huizhou maintain its position as the contemporary Yuedong Zhongzhen.



Intertwining



Actions to reinforce the intertwining process

- Recreating Ehu as the water-belt linking the West Lake and the Xizhi River.
- Providing easy accessibility

Enhancing the intertwining of the effective memory cues

5.4 REINFORCING THE LAKE-CITY-RIVER RELATIONSHIP THROUGH THE RECREATION OF THE WATER LINKAGE

The effective memory cues in the city do not exist in a discrete manner. They are all intertwined with each other to form multiple cues that possess high associative strength. Therefore, they are more powerful in retrieving the collective memory of the people, and should be the key elements that are worthy of being conserved.

In Huizhou, most of the effective memory cues that include the landscape, place, scene and text, are all intertwined to form the strongest multiple cue – the city's Lake-City-River relationship. This relationship has captured the most distinctive characters of Huizhou as stored collectively in the memory of its people. To achieve this, a smooth linkage across the city should be created.

Strategy 4.1: Recreating Ehu as the water-belt that links the West Lake and the Xizhi River

Huizhou is a city that being evolved with bodies of water. The Huizhou people have strong attachment to the rivers and lake, as well as to those water bodies inside the city. Therefore, it is appropriate to make use of the water bodies to link up the three basic components of the city. The already disappeared Ehu is an outstanding example that forms such linkage. The recreation of the Ehu can reprovide the intertwined memory cues to Huizhou, and reinforce the Lake-City-River relationship.

Strategy 4.2: Redesigning the water edges to encourage contacts with the water bodies

Currently, many waterside buildings have blocked the direct access from the city to the river, both physically and visually. This has separated the city from the two

landscapes. These buildings should be removed to allow a smooth cross-linkage. The water edges should be redesigned to encourage the people's contact with the water bodies. The Xiabu Riverside Park is a successful example that provides a nice waterside leisure place to the Huizhou people.



(Fig. 5.11) The Statue of the five immortals to memorize the old legend behind the side-name *Yangcheng*.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis attempts to answer the three research questions “Why, what and how to conserve in China?”

Why to conserve in China?

The sustaining of the collective memory is the essence for the transmission of Chinese culture. Therefore, it should be the ultimate task for the urban conservation in China. We have to conserve our cities in order to sustain our collective memory, for it allows the transmission of traditions and perpetuates our identities.

What to conserve in China?

Effective memory cues provides the key to the sustaining of collective memory, for they are essential in retrieving our memory. These memory cues may be either tangible or intangible in nature. There are inter-relationships among these two kinds of effective memory cues.

Based on the encoding specificity approach and the associative strength approach, we have discovered that the tangible memory cues in Guangdong are the landscape and the place. They are pre-existed elements which devise those intangible memory cues – the distinctive scenes and the texts. The intangible memory cues are extracted from the tangible ones to provide a visualized and readable form that highlights the characters of the city. They are better encoded and deeply processed, and thus are powerful in retrieving the collective memory of the people.

How to conserve?

In order to conserve the effective memory cues in the city so as to sustain the

collective memory, we have to ensure their continuous provisions and revitalize their inter-relationships. Under this premise, we allow not only conserving the existing memory cues, but also the creation of new cues and new environments. The public participatory approach and the dynamic approach should also be applied in the conservation of the memory cues. Four basic principles are generated:

1. Ensuring the continuous provision of the tangible memory cues in city;
2. Extracting the tangible memory cues into intangible ones;
3. Incarnating the intangible memory cues into tangible ones;
4. Enhancing the inter-twining of the effective memory cues.

In answering these questions, we affirm the cultural diversity in conservation needs. Here in this thesis we only discuss the case in Guangdong, which is largely different from other parts of China, not to mention from the rest of the world. Each culture should have their own effective memory cues.

The cities in Guangdong share many similarities, which reflects the fact that there are many regional characters within China. Guangdong cities are closely tied to bodies of water, which contribute significantly to the cultivation of a unique Guangdong culture which is very different from the rest of China. Therefore, for future research on Guangdong, emphasis should be made on how to make use of the water bodies to sustain the city's propelling development, and its people's collective memory.

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